R E P O R T

ON THE

A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

OF THE

K U S H A L G A R H   C H I E F S H I P

FOR THE

SIX YEARS

From 1936-37 to 1941-42.

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INDEX OF CHAPTERS.

R E P O R T   O N   T H E   A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL AND POLITICAL.

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1. <u>BOUNDARY.</u> - The Kushalgarh Chiefship is situated in the extreme south of Rajputana between ~~23 20 North Latitu. and~~ 23°4' and 23°20' North Latitudes and 74°17' and 74°74' East ~~Latitudes~~ Longi--tudes. It is a hilly country, bounded on the North by Banswara, Ratlam and Sailana States, on the East by Ratlam and Jhabua States, on the South by Jhabua and Indore States and on the West by the Panch Mahals District of the Bombay Presidency.

2. <u>AREA, POPULATION AND REVENUE.</u> - The area of the Chiefship is approximately 340 sqare miles and the population according to the Census of 1941 is 41,153 of whom 34,841 are Bhils as against 30,085 Bhils out of a total population of 35,564 according to the Census of 1931. The gross revenue of the Chiefship calculated on the average of the past five years is Rs 150093 and the average expenditure Rs 138909 .

3. <u>THE CHIEF AND THE RAJ FAMILY.</u> - Shreeman Raoji Sahib Harendra Kumar Singhji, the present minor Chief, was born on 11th May, 1924, and is receiving his education at the Mayo College, Ajmer. He succeeded his grand-father, Raoji Sahib Ranjeetsinghji, on

on the 3rd July, 1941, who was deprived of his powers on the 25th September, 1936, owing to maladministration and was asked to reside outside the Chiefship. The Chief's family belongs to Ramsingot Mertia branch of the Rathor Rajput clan of Jodhpur and has been in possession of the Chiefship for the last 13 generat-ions since Akherajji, the founder, who is said to have conquered the territory in Samvat year 1711 (1654 A.D.) and subsequently founded the town of Kushalgarh in memory of a Bhil Chieftain named Kushla, whom Akherajji is said to have killed. The family is connected by marriages with Bansi (Mewar), Kadana (Gujrat), Badi Sadri (Mewar), Kundla (Jhalawar), Khajurgaon (U.P.), Sheorati (Mewar), Dhenkanal (Orissa) and Kalwar (Jaipur). The minor Chief has been betrothed to the younger Maharajkumari of Dhrangadhra (Kathiawar).

Besides three minor Kumars of the late Raoji Sahib from his Junior Rani, who have been granted separate Jagirs, he has left from her two daughters. The eldest of the three, Kunwar Bharatsingh, married the daughter of the Thakur of Tera in Cutch.

4. FEUDATORIES. - Besides a number of petty Jagirdars and Muafi-dars there are six principal Jagirdars in the Chiefship, viz. (1) Tambesra, (2) Ramgarh, (3) Mohkampura, (4) Rupgarh, (5) Gopal-pura and (6) Ranjeetgarh. The last three Jagirs, owing to the minority of the three Kumars, are under the management of the Court of Wards of the Chiefship. The Jagir of Chhoti Sarwa was resumed on the 29th August, 1940, on the death of Thakur Chatar-singh on the 24th July, 1940, who left no male issue. Thakur Yagnarain Singh, who has been educated at the Mayo College, Ajmer, was invested with the powers of his Thikana, Mohkampura, in January, 1941,

in January, 1941. Of the three minor Kumars the eldest, Kunwar Bharatsingh, is living with his mother at Kushalgarh, while Kunwars Udainarayansingh and Ramchandrasingh are receiving education at Daly College, Indore. These Jagirdars descend from the Chief's family.

5. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION. - On the 25th September, 1936, the late Raoji Ranjeetsinghji was deprived of his powers and the Chiefship was taken under Administration. The work arising in the Chiefship durign the Administration, is performed by a Manager, who is responsible to the Political Agent in Mewar and Southern Rajputana States, under whose political charge the Chiefship is. Khan Sahib Tajammul Husain, Head Clerk, Mewar Residency, was in-charge of the office of Manager till 24th October, 1936, when M. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, B.A., a lent officer from the Ajmer Commission, took over and remained in charge till 1st October, 1937, handing over his charge again to Khan Sahib Tajammul Husain, whose services have been lent by the Government to the Chiefship and is still holding the charge. There are the following Departments in the Chiefship:- Revenue, Judicial, Excise and Customs, Forests, Accounts, P.W.D., Municipality, Jail, Medical, Education and Police. The Heads of these Departments are responsible to the Manager for their work.

6. PRINCIPAL EVENTS. - The late Raoji left 3 unmarried daughters from his Senior Rani. The elder two of these were married respect-ively to Raj Kumar Shreeshesh Pratap Singh Deo of Dhenkanal (Orissa) and Raja Sahib Amarendra Pratap Singh Deo of Dompara (Orissa) on 30th June, 1937. The third daughter was married to Kunwar Jai Singh of Kalwar (Jaipur) on the 24th March, 1940. The betrothal ceremony of the minor Chief with the Maharaj Kumari of Dhrangadhra

13. SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT. - The first Settlement ~~was made in 1916-17~~ of the Khalsa area was made in 1916-17 and a revised settlement in ~~1930~~ 1927. This is the 12th year of the Revised Settlement 15

14. AREA AND SOIL. - Of the 343.6 square miles or 2,19,923 acres 97,015 acres of land are under forest and 6,768 acres other uncultivable area and the remaining both "cultivable and cultivable waste" is described as under:-

Khalsa	75,203	acres
Jagirs	32,727	"
Muafis	8,210	"
Total	1,16,140	acres.

A greater portion of the ~~land lying~~ uncultivated, land, especially in Patan Tehsil, is good black soil, which is lying waste for want of irrigation facilities. In this Tehsil difficulties for drinking water and water for cattle in places also exists. This ~~is~~ is a great drawback for the colonization scheme to progress. However a tank at ~~Patan~~ village Patan has been constructed by the present Administration and the population of the village is now gradually increasing. If funds permit and proper irrigation facilities are provided land revenue of this Tehsil can nearly be doubled from what it is at present viz. Rs 12,885/- a year. The soil varies in kind in the different ~~Tehsils~~ parts of the Chiefship. That in Dungra is brown and is best suited for wheat, maize and rice; that in Malyar is black and brown suitable for maize and gram; and in Patan the soil is black best suited for wheat and cotton.

15. LAND REVENUE.- The agricultural conditions have progressed appreciably as will appear from the following statistics:-

(i) Principal Kharif Crops.

Name of the Crop	Area under cultivation.					
	1936-37 Acres.	1937-38 Acres.	1938-39 Acres.	1939-40 Acres.	1940-41 Acres.	1941-42 Acres
Makka	12,416	10,512	12,160	12,337	14,003	14,667
Paddy	3,054	2,369	4,195	4,656	5,613	5,653
Cotton....	2,568	1,990	1,445	1,800	3,300	1,900
Til	1,504	4152	4,596	3,752	3,098	2,472
Hemp	243	466	669	309	853	619
Miscellaneous	1,015	2,321	2,378	2,675	3,410	5,105
Total	20,800	21,810	25,443	25,529	30,313	30,479

(ii) Prinicapl Rabi Crops.

Name of the Crop	Area under cultivation.					
	1936-37 Acres.	1937-38 Acres.	1938-39 Acres.	1939-40 Acres.	1940-41 Acres.	1941-42 Acres.
Wheat	666	2,053	1,540	1,253	2,758	2,713
Gram	5,318	5,917	3,384	3,575	6,052	5,109
Castor-seed	443	660	130	164	446	414
Miscellaneous	98	170	95	60	96	104
Total	6,526	8,800	5,099	5,052	9,382	8,340
Piyat	10	67	28	18	44	42

For want of irrigation facilities only a very small area is under Piyat, otherwise the area is Barani.

18. TACCAVI.- The Taccavi advances to the cultivators are compared in the following statement:-

Year	Repairs to and sinking of wells.	Purhcase of bullocks.	Other purpose.	Total.
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1936-37.	-	11,451	2542	13,993
1937-38.	-	~~192~~ 2,097	3,548	5,645
1938-39.	-	-	50	50
1939-40.	-	-	-	-
1940-41.	-	-	-	-
1941-42.	-	-	-	-
Total.	-	13,548	6,140	19,688

19. LIVE STOCK.- Appendix XVII ~~XIII~~ shows condition of live stock in the Chiefship. Over and above the year to year entries made by the Patwaris a regular Cattle Census of the Khalsa and Jagir areas was taken in the year 1939-40 and the figures of this Census have been shown separately in the Appendix.

20. ~~Prices of food-grains~~ PRICES OF FOOD-GRAINS. - Prices of food-grains remained as shown in Appendix XV. Prices of commodities ~~hx~~ have considerably risen during the last two years due to War. Proper control is, however, exercised over the prices.

21. FAIRS AND HATS. - No regular fairs are held in the Chiefship. A fair was held at Mangleshwar in the year 1937. Weekly Bazars are, however, held at Bari Sarwa, Chhoti Sarwa, Amlipara and Dungra.

22. RAINFALL.- The average rainfall in the Chiefship is 43 inches. The statement of rainfall is given at Appendix XIV. As no proper steps were taken in the past to catch ~~rainwater~~ rain water all the rain water received finds its way into the Panch Mahals District carrying with it the rich sub-soil and manure. Saddling of rivers at different points is very necessary, but the question how to finance the project

the project is a problem for the Chiefship with its meagre resources.

23. RESUMPTION OF VILLAGES AND JAGIRS. - The Muafi village of Hindoliya yielding an annual income of Rs 177/- (area 554 acres) was resumed by the Chiefship in 1937 as the deceased Muafidar left no male issue to succeed him. The Jagir of Chhoti Sarwa, having an annual income of Rs 3,900/- with an area of 9,528 acres was also resumed in 1940 as the Thakur died heirless.

24. COURT OF WARDS. - The Revenue Officer is also Superintendent of Court of Wards. No new Jagirs or Muafis were taken under the management of the Court during the period while the Jagirs of Pati and Jhikli and Muafis of Timeda and Kalinjra were restored to their holders in 1942. The following Statement gives the necessary details regarding the estates under management:-

Name of Estate	Date of taking over.	Date of release.	Average of the six years Income Rs	Expenditure Rs	Debts. Rs	Remarks
1. Timeda.	29-4-29	16-5-42	852	782	2,471	
2 Pati.	1-10-26	1-4-42	436	432	416	
3. Jhikli.	6-2-30	2-2-42	357	324	1,066	
4. Kalinjra.	28-5-35	25-5-42	245	245	14,213	
5. Kushlapada.	28-1-32	-	112	110	135	
6. Gerdna-Bhatda	1-10-26	-	92	74	-	
7. Umrawat) 8. Chorparnala)	25-1-32	-	556	556	-	
9. Potliya.	1-1-20	-	230	228	-	
10. Dungripada.	1-1-36	-	239	239	116	
11. Semalda.	26-1-32	-	144	140	-	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
12. Rupgarh.	19-5-34	-	1,942	1,416	-	
13. Gopalpura.	"	-	1,974	1,503	-	
14. Ran[illegible]arh.	"	-	2,033	1,328	-	

25. ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY. - Out of a total population of 41,153 souls 34,841 or 84% are Bhils, who are all agriculturists.

They belong to the aboriginal stock and are totally illiterate and uneducated. Their needs of life are very few. They are heavily under the debts of ~~xxxx~~ the Mahajans and Sahukars, who charge ~~xxxxxxxx~~ exhorbitant interests and Badis. In a few years the burden of the debt is so unbearable on the cultivator that he flies away from his residence leaving his hut and field uncared for. This is one of the reasons why much of the land is lying waste. In the Dungra Tehsil arrangements have been made for each cultivator to give a certain amount of grains at the time of each harvest. This stock is kept with the Tadvis and grains are advanced on Sawaya system. The issue of grains is recouped at the time of next harvest. This co-operative system has worked well and the cultivators are now realising the benefits. At the time of its inception the cultivators at the instigation of the Mahajans offered severe opposition but thanks to the efforts of the Revenue staff the fears were allayed. This system will now be introduced in other Tahsils also. In course of time the cultivators will find their economic condition much eased.

25. IMPROVED METHODS OF AGRICULTURE.- The cultivators who are mostly Bhils are not adept to improved methods of agriculture. The Administration has been alive to this need and one of the Girdawars has been sent to Indore to receive training at the Institute of Plant Industry. Model farms will be opened and improved seeds will be introduced among cultivators when the Girdawar returns after receiving his training.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPAL HEADS AND DEPARTMENTS OF INCOME.

(A) LAND REVENUE.

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PRINCIPAL HEADS AND DEPARTMENTS OF INCOME.

(A) LAND REVENUE.

26. LAND REVENUE. - The under mentioned figures will show the yearwise figures of demand and recoveries during the period under review:-

Year.	Demand.	Recoveries. Of demand	of arrears	Miscel-laneous income.	Total	Remarks
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
1935-36	43,757	40,225	3,800	1,465	45,490	
1936-37	44,265	5,070	99	1,792	6,961	Femine year.
1937-38	45,105	38,804	4,524	2,075	45,403	
1938-39	44,068	38,441	9,415	2,364	50,220	
1939-40	47,382	40,702	2,091	1,898	44,691	
1940-41	50,204	46,170	2,841	1,863	50,874	
1941-42	51,337	45,075	2,480	2,093	49,648	

1936-37 was a famine year and hence recoveries were suspend-ed. The income under this head is steadily increasing which is due to the fact that encouragement is now given to bring more land under cultivation than was done in the past. Efforts for colonisation have also been made and the Bhils have felt a sense of security and therefore once they are settled they are not easily led away to change residence now as they used to do in the past. The figures below will show increase in cultivated area :-

Year	Cultivated area in 1935-36	Cultivated area in 1941-42	Increase.
	24,236 acres	34,758 acres	10,522 acres.

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Cultivated area in 1935-36	Cultivated area in 1941-42	Increase.
24,236 acres	34,758 acres	10,522 acres.

(B) CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

27. POLICY REGARDING EXPORT OF COMMODITIES. - It was a policy of the late regime to hold even the surplus stock of produce for imaginary fear of rise in the market prices of commodities. This caused a very great loss to the cultivators as they had to sell their produce for very low prices to their Sahukars, mostly towards payment of their debts. The Administration has, however, diverted from this ruinous policy and has allowed from time to time exports of surplus grains and other produces. This practice has on the one hand benefited the cultivators as well as the merchants in as much as that they could now sell their produce on highest possible rates prevailing in the neighbouring markets, while on the other hand it has raised the Customs income of the Chiefship considerably high ~~xxxxxxthe~~ during the last six years as will be seen from the following figures:-

Year	Duty realised.			Remarks.
	Export	Import	Total	
	Rs	Rs	Rs	
1936-37	6,007	2,888	8,895	Famine year
1937-38	8,415	4,072	12,487	
1938-39	12,325	4,666	16,991	
1939-40	11,367	5,798	17,165	
1940-41	20,773	6,508	27,281	
1941-42	15,351	5,535	20,886	Due to control over food grain, etc.

28. PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF IMPORT AND EXPORT.- The following statement will show the quantity of principal articles of Import and Export during the years under review:-

(B) CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT.

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I M P O R T S .

Goods.	Quantity in Maunds. 1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
1. Cloth.	1,065	538	1,059	7,506	1,200	809
2. Tobacco.	376	548	456	777	739	795
3. Sugar.	930	1,026	1,101	1,121	1,282	1,464
4. Salt.	2,614	2,769	2,784	3,132	3,593	3321
5.Gur.	1,019	1,117	969	1,065	1,622	1167
6. Kerosene (Tins)	1,140	1,052	1,250	1,730	1,840	1857
7. Kirana.	294	276	292	459	607	503
8. Other articles.	1,744	2,518	1,077	1,476	3,619	1947

E X P O R T S .

Goods.	Quantity in Maunds 1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
1, Food Grains	42	1,103	58,419	20,187	42,608	13,735
2. Oil	61	27	37	74	125	103
3. Oil Seeds	72	11,729	6,007	3,571	12,396	7,532
4. Ghee	3	616	233	434	127	188
5. Cotton	5,775	5,697	3,418	7,860	17,419	14,753
6. Hemp	2,256	603	345	2,045	1,860	4,241
7. Hides (No)	1,120 ~~252~~	1,340 ~~201~~	1,115 ~~298~~	2,295 ~~209~~	817 ~~378~~	945
8. Cattle (No.)	359	201	298	209	378	172
9. Other Articles	~~15~~	15 ~~11~~	11 ~~264~~	364 ~~2,231~~	2,231	1,094

29. TARIFF. - The old Customs Tariff prevailing during the late regime was found unsuitable and, therefore, a new Tariff based on a comparative scale of duties levied by the neighbouring States was introduced in 1939. According to the old Tariff duty was charged on certain articles such as cloth etc. according to

weight.

This was not proper, as coarse but cheaper cloth was charged higher duty while costly and fine cloth was liable to a lower duty. According to the new Tariff duty is now charged on such articles according to their cost and not weight.

30. ADMINISTRATIVE IMPROVEMENTS. - Formerly there were 9 Nakedars and one Inspector. In order to check smuggling 7 Nakedars have been increased. Pucca Naka at Bagaicha has also been built.

31. CUSTOMS CASES. - The following statement will show the number of Customs cases challaned and disposed of during these years:-

Year	Balance of past Year	Challaned during the year	Total	Disposed of	Remained in balance.
1. 1936-37	1	23	24	24	-
2. 1937-38	-	29	29	26	3
3. 1938-39	3	26	29	17	12
4 1939-40	12	63	75	69	6
5. 1940-41	6	58	64	61	3
6. 1941-42	3	43	45	44	1

(C) EXCISE DEPARTMENT.

(i) Country Liquor.

32. GENERAL.- The Abkari control has been centralised throughout the whole Chiefship and Madras system is in vogue. The Jagirdars, who have been granted Excise rights are paid compensation. During the old regime contract for supply and distillation of liquor and that of retail sale was granted to one and the same person. This system proved very harmful, caused a great fall in the Excise revenue of the Chiefship and illicit distillation became rampant. This system was stopped and separate contracts

contracts for supply and sale of liquor were given by the Administration and as a result a marked increase in the income is now visible. An Inspector of the Holkar State Excise Department visited Kushalgarh in 1938 and made useful suggestions regarding Excise management.

33. SUPPLY AND DISTILLATION OF LIQUOR.- The Central Distillery at Kushalgarh used to work up to 1939-40 under a contractor. There-after it was closed as the plant became very old and unservice-able. The supply price of liquor from the Kushalgarh Distillery was charged at As. -/15/- per L.P. gallon. Arrangements were then made with the Banswara Darbar for the supply of liquor at a flat rate of As. -/12/- per L.P. gallon. This arrangement lasted up to 1941 when a fresh arrangement was made between the Banswara State and the Chiefship. Accordingly the Chiefship supplied Mahuwa and the Banswara Distillery charged As. 4/8/- per L.P. gallon for its distillation. This arrangement has not been satisfactory as the quantity of liquor thus obtained from Banswara was very meagre and therefore liquor was also obtained from the Cox Distillery, Nowgong (Bundelkhand), since April 1941, at a rate of Rs 1/1/-, which was later raised to Rs 1/4/- per L.P. gallon, in September, 1941. Due to transport difficulty now prevailing consignments from Nowgong are, however, not received in time and, therefore, the stock is to be supplemented by partial distillation at Kushalgarh Distillery. Some satisfactory arrangement is under contemplation.

34. ISSUE AND RETAIL PRICES OF LIQUOR.- Liquor is issued from the Warehouse and sold on the retail shops at the following prices:-

Number of shops	Issue price per L.P. Gal.		Profit of the contractor per L.P. Gal.	Retail price per L.P. Gal.
	Price	Duty		
	as	as	as	as
1. Internal shops-				
(a) 13 shops	0 - 15	1 - 1[illegible]	0 - [illegible] - 15	3 - 1[illegible]
(b) 4 "	0 - 15	2 - 8	1 - 4	4 - 11
2. Boundary Shops-				
(a) 6 shops	0 - 15	0 - 15	0 - 15	[illegible] - 13
(b) 3 shops	0 - 15	1 - 14	0 - 13	4 - 11
(c) 6 shops	0 - 15	2 - 8	1 - 4	2 - 13

35. NUMBER OF SHOPS. - There are in all 32 shops of which 26 are in Khalsa area and 6 in the Jagir area. The shops are auctioned every year.

36. LICENSE FEE AND DUTY REALISED. - The following licence fee and duty was realised during the last 6 years:-

Year	No. of shops	Quantity of liquor sold in L.P. Gl.	Licence fee recovered	Duty recovered
1936-37	3[illegible]	2,[illegible]	[illegible],207/-	[illegible]/-
1937-38	3[illegible]	3,5[illegible]7	[illegible]/-	[illegible]/-
1938-39	34	3,653	[illegible],213/-	[illegible]/-
1939-40	34	15,[illegible]	5,[illegible]/-	[illegible]/-
1940-41	[illegible]	1[illegible]	[illegible]/-	[illegible]/-
1941-42	3[illegible]	1[illegible],77[illegible]	[illegible]/-	[illegible]/-

37. MEASURES TO CHECK ILLICIT DISTILLATION. - Proper steps were not taken by the late regime for the check of illicit distillation and, therefore, illicit distillation was [illegible]. A preventive staff was [illegible] and [illegible] cases of illicit distillation [illegible]

detected every year. The Tadwis have also been held responsible for any occurrence of illicit distillation in their villages and punitive measures are taken against them. This has brought about satisfactory results Rewards are also given to those who help in detection of such offences.

38. MAHUWA FLOWERS.- Local Mahuwa Flowers Act is in force in the Chiefship and nobody can keep with him Mahuwa flowers more than 5 seers excepting the period between 1st March and 15th June. This also has put a great check on illicit distillation.

(ii) Opium and Hemp Drugs.

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39. OPIUM AND HEMP DRUGS.- There are Opium and Ganja- Bhang shops in the Chiefship. No compensation is, however, given to the Jagirdars on account of the sale of these drugs. The drugs are kept at the Treasury and are supplied to the retail vendors under permits issued by the Excise Superintendent at the following rates.-

Drug.	Supply Price per seer.	Retail price per seer.
1. Opium	Rs 28/-	Rs 30/-
2. Ganja	" 6/8/-	" 7/8/-
3. Bhang	" 2/4/-	" 2/8/-

40. SHOPS AND LICENSE FEE. The number of shops is 22, which are auctioned every year and license fee is recovered from the vendors. The following statement shows the income accrued from this source during the years under review:-

Year	No. of Shops.	License Fee Rs	Sale of Opium Rs	Ganja Rs	Bhang Rs	Total Rs
1936-37	22	371	8,571	144	271	8,986
1937-38	22	502	4,897	158	316	5,371
1938-39	22	275	3,976	385	298	4,659
1939-40	22	254	3,962	541	330	4,833
1940-41	22	406	6,328	570	271	7,169
1941-42	22	439	10,962	612	344	11,918

41. TOTAL EXCISE REVENUE. - Appendix XVIII will show the total Excise revenue accrued during the years under report.

(D) FOREST DEPARTMENT.

42. GENERAL. - Though the Chiefship abounds in forest the wood produced at present is not of much value. In 1941 Rao Sahib Padmanabha Pillai, M.Sc.,I.F.S., Conservator of Forests, Mewar State, visited the Chiefship forests and he chalked out a scheme for future working. The question of recruiting a trained and qualified staff is engaging the attention of the Chiefship.

43. INCOME. - The following income was accrued under different heads of forests during the years under report:-

Head	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
1. Timber	Rs 2,133	Rs 5,534	Rs 3,864	Rs 4065	Rs 2,622	Rs 2,053
2. Fuel	" 120	" 901	" 870	" 488	" 461	" 427
3. Cattle grazing	" 89	" 92	" 93	" 101	" 128	" 50
4. Bamboo	" 372	" 1,571	" 1,521	" 1406	" 1,200	" 1,200
5. Grass	" 2,201	" 178	" 12746	" 3691	" 264	" 271
6. Timroo leaves	" 602	" 601	" 601	" 801	" 801	" 801
7. Commutation fee	" 793	" 2,905	" 490	" 3039	" 3,581	" 3,673
8. Miscellaneous	" 30	" 3,938	" 2,054	" 360	" 275	" 219
Total	Rs 6,340	Rs 15,720	Rs 22239	Rs 13951	Rs 9,332	Rs 8,694

(E) OTHER HEADS OF INCOME.

44. MISCELLANEOUS INCOME.- Income accrued from sale of stamps, Judicial fines, motor monopolies, etc. is shown in Appendix XIX.

CHAPTER IV.

FINANCE.

(A) RECEIPTS.

45. FIGURES OF INCOME. - Appendix XIX exhibits the income and expenditure of the Chiefship from 1936-37 to 1941-42. For the sake of comparison figures for the year 1934-35 have also been given.

46. GENERAL REMARKS. - Administration of the Chiefship was taken over in September, 1936, and the accounts for the year 1935-36 were got audited by a man from the Office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues. As though a sum of Rs 27,084 was shown as closing balance on the 1st October, 1934, a sum of Rs 9,540 only was found in the Treasury in September, 1936. The audit of the accounts shewed that the closing balance included a sum which was outstanding in the name of Shree Satya Narain Bank, Kushalgarh, started by the late Raoji and out of which a large sum was advanced on house property, security which was found deteriorating in value. This being the state of the finances the task of carrying on the Administration became difficult as on the one hand there was famine to be faced and on the other the question of marrying the two daughters of the Rao from his Senior Rani, who were well past marriageable age required early solution. A loan of Rs 1,50,000/- from the Mewar State with the sanction of the Government of India at 4½% interest was arranged. As there was some delay in getting the loan money, while relief measures were to be started at once and salaries of the staff to be paid, steps were taken to recover the Bank dues. The late Raoji himself had pawned with the Bank his ornaments which he redeemed

redeemed after paying Rs 6096-7-6 with interest before he left Kushalgarh and the other creditors were also asked to repay their debts. Thanks to the efforts of the officials, a sum of Rs 10,000 thus came into the hands of the Chiefship in addition to Rs 9540/- ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ from closing balance, enabling it to make the payments to the labourers engaged on various relief works.

47. SOURCES OF ~~XXXX~~ INCOME.- A reference to the Appendix XIX will show that the income from all sources in 1934-35 (old regime) was Rs 1,00,516/-. The Principal sources of revenue are (1) Land Revenue, (2) Customs and Excise, (3) Law and Justice, (4) Forest, (5) Municipal, (6) Police and (7) Miscellaneous - match excise duty etc. Excluding extraordinary receipts - Adjustment, Deposits (refundable) and loan. The ~~actual~~ ordinary receipts accrued to the Chiefship ~~xxx~~ were as under:-

			Rs
1934-35	.. ..	..	1,00,038
1936-37	(Famine year)	..	51,510
1937-38	.. ..	..	1,12,537
1938-39	.. ..	..	1,16,389
1939-40	.. ..	..	1,32,319
1940-41	(Income Rs.1,47,798/- minus Rs 11,000/- received from Dhrangadhra on account of Tika money	..	1,36,798
1941-42	.. ..	..	1,47,601

How the income has progressed during the Administration the above figures speak for themselves.

(B) EXPENDITURE.

48. POSITION AT THE TIME OF TAKING OVER ADMINISTRATION.- The year 1934-35 (old regime) was normal year. Against Rs 1,00,516/- accrued from receipts from all sources during the year there was an expenditure of Rs 96,305/- leaving a surplus of Rs 4,211/- and not Rs 31,295/-. By including the arrears of loans advanced from the

Bank

Bank referred to under "Income" the closing balance was swelled. It may here be pointed out that at one time the budget of the Chiefship was subject to the control of the Mewar Residency and in order to shew sound financial position the closing balances made up as above the late Raoji misled the authorities.

49. GENERAL REVIEW OF EXPENDITURE.- From 1936-37 (famine year) to 1941-42 the expenditure of the Chiefship varied. During 1936-37 after meeting a sum of Rs 84,166/- for expenditure on account of famine and marriages of the two daughters of the late Raoji from his Senior Rani the actual expenditure on administration was Rs 94,709/-. As will be seen on a reference to Appendix XIX Expenditure under head Khasgi increased due to the grant of Rs 1,500/- a month to the late Raoji. This was, however, reduced to Rs 1,000/- a year in 1941-42. The abnormal increase under this head in 1940-41 is mainly due to the expenditure incurred on the funeral of the late Raoji. In 1937-38 a sum of Rs 3000/- was loaned to the Thakur of Chhoti Sarwa, a Jagir in the Chiefship. Recovery including interest was effected in the following years. A sum of Rs 4,392/- was also spent towards the payment of outstanding bills for famine works. Otherwise the expenditure (inclusive of sums paid towards the Mewar loan and debts repaid on the account of the late Raoji) from 1937-38 to 1941-42 has been constant. In 1941-42 orders for reducing the Mewar instalment from Rs 20,000/- to Rs 10,000/- towards the loan were received in order to make available some money for improvements. The sum paid for debts includes a sum of Rs 5,000/- also which the Chiefship is paying to the Senior Rani for the expenditure incurred by her for marrying her third daughter. Expenditure on public utility, e.g. School, and Medical, has also increased and every year a sufficient sum is spent for the construction

construction of roads. The rise of expenditure under head "Excise" is due to arrangements made whereby the Chiefship obtains its liquor supply from Banswara and Nowgong since the closure of the Kushalgarh Distillery. This arrangement entails unnecessary expenditure on transport and little margin is left to the Chiefship. The question of restarting the Distillery is under the active consideration of the Chiefship.

CHAPTER V.

LAW, JUSTICE AND PROTECTION.

(A) LEGISLATIION.

50. LEGISLATION.- During the old regime all laws emanated from the Raoji. Generally the spirit of British Laws was followed with special regards to local usage and custom. But this left a wide scope for the misuse of the Laws. In 1942, therefore, most of the principal British Laws were adapted, with slight modifications to suit the local needs. Several new Laws and Acts were promul--gated and some are yet on the anvil. Appendix II will show the list of the Laws and Acts now in force in the Chiefship.

(B) JUDICIARY.

51. GENERAL.- The Raoji exercised full Civil and Criminal powers with the restriction that sentence of death required confirmation of the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana. When the Administra--tion was taken over the Political Agent assumed the powers of High Court for the Chiefship and the Manager was invested with the powers of the Additional Sessions Judge and District Judge.

A separate

A separate High Court for the Chiefship was created in 1940. In addition there is a First Class Magistrate, who also exercises the powers of a Civil Judge. The Revenue Officer is empowered with the powers of Munsiff and Magistrate Second Class and Tehsildar of Dungra those of Munsiff and Magistrate Third Class. The Thakurs of Tambesra, Raigarh and Lokampura also enjoy powers of a Third Class Magistrate and to hear suits up to Rs 50/-.

52. DISPOSAL OF CASES.- In 1936 when the Administration was taken over it was found that 125 appeals were left undecided by the late Raoji - some of these were as old as about 20 years. The Political Agent took great pains in the speedy disposal of these. Appendices VII to X will show Civil and Criminal work done during these years. The speedy and impartial disposal of cases has re-established the confidence of the people in the Judiciary which it had lost before.

53. PROSECUTING DEPARTMENT.- There was no proper arrangement for a Prosecutor in the past. In some cases the investigating officer, who was always, as a rule, a Police officer, conducted the prosecution, which was quite against law, while in some cases there was no prosecutor at all. Although the Administration has not yet been able to make arrangements for a separate Prosecutor for financial reasons, the Head Master of the Colvin Middle School, who is a Law Graduate is appointed as Public Prosecutor. This has removed the legal difficulty. Appointment of a separate Public Prosecutor is under consideration.

54. EXTRADITION.- The relation of the Chiefship, so far as the extradition of culprits and surrender of properties xx concerned, with the neighbouring States and the British District of Panch Mahals, remained cordial. Appendix ... shows the extradition conceded during the years under report.

55. LAW BOOKS.- It is unfortunate that there is no proper Bar Library in the Chiefship. Some of the out of date and old Law books left by the old regime have outlived their utility and a few new sets of principal Laws have now been purchased. It is proposed to increase the number of Law books every year as the funds permit.

56. STAMPS.- Stamps were printed in a local Press during the old regime. As a result a serious stamp forgery case was unearthed by the Administration and a local Vakil was punished for the offence. The Administration has now taken very cautious and careful steps for the printing of judicial and non-judicial stamps. New dies have been prepared and the stamps are printed outside.

57. REGISTRATION.- The First Class Magistrate and Civil Judge also acts as Sub Registrar. Appendix XII will show the number and value of documents registered during the years under report.

(C) MILITARY .

58. DETAILMENT OF MEWAR BHIL CORPS.- No regular military force is maintained by the Chiefship. Owing, however, to the famine conditions in 1936- 37 with the approval of the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana, a platoon of the Mewar Bhil Corps was detailed and the men were posted at 5 different places in the Chiefship. This had a salutory effect and the number of crimes decreased considerably. Only in 2 cases when rounding the dacoits a dacoit was shot dead. A large number of cattle was also rescued by the men of the Corps from the dacoits. The platoon was called back on Nov: 1937 when the Mewar Bhil Corps was disbanded.

(D) POLICE DEPARTMENT.

59. POLICE STATIONS AND OUT-POSTS.- There are three Police Station houses in the Khalsa area, viz. Sadar (Kushalgarh), Patan and Dungra. Two outposts, at Gulab Sagar and Loharia, were abolished in 1942. The three Thikanas, viz. Tambesra, Pangarh and Mohkampura, have their own Police for their respective areas to deal with petty offences, which is inefficient and low-paid.

60. ADMINISTRATION.- The Police of the Chiefship is under supervisi of a Superintendent of Police, who is a trained and retired Government officer. He is responsible for his work to the Manager of the Chiefship. There are three Sub Inspectors who are in-charge of the three Police Stations.

61. ATTACHMENT OF THE MEWAR BHIL CORPS.- As is xxxxxxx stated in para 58 above a xxxxxx platoon of the Mewar Bhil Corps was detailed in the Chiefship in 1936-37 to help the Police in suppression of dacoites and other lawlessness which remained here till the famine conditions abated.

62. REORGANIZATION OF THE FORCE.- In January, 1942, Mr. R. Powell, I.P., Inspector-General of Police, Ajmer-Merwara and Police Assista to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana, visited Kushalgarh. He drew a scheme for the reorganization of the Police Force. Steps are xxxxx being taken to give a shape to this scheme gradually and it is hoped the scheme will fully materialise within a couple of years to come. The whole subordinate staff was untrained and efforts are now being xxxxx made to get a few persons trained.

63. STRENGTH OF THE POLICE FORCE.- The strength xx and cost of the Police Force is shown in Appendix IV .

64. POLICE ACT.- Formerly no Police Act was in force in the Chiefshi Now the Police Act V of 1861 has been applied to the Chiefship Police

Chiefship Police with local modifications.

65. <u>BUILDINGS.</u>- The Police station at Patan was in a dilapidated condition. It has now been rebuilt at a cost of about Rs ~~2000~~ 4300/-. Quarters for the residence of the Sub Inspector of Thana Sadar have also been constructed.

66. <u>INTRODUCTION OF ARMS ACT</u>? The Kushalgarh Chiefship Arms Act of 1941 has been enforced under which all the fire arms ~~kz~~ are registered.

66. <u>PROPERTY STOLEN AND RECOVERED.</u> - Please see Appendix VI .

67. <u>APPOINTMENT OF A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR.</u>- Please see para 53 above.

(E) PRISONS.

......

68. <u>CENTRAL JAIL KUSHALGARH.</u> - There is one Central Jail at Kushalgarh which provides accommodation both for male and female prisoners. Appendix XI will show number of prisoners and other particulars about Jail. The prisoners except doing jail labour are not employed for any industrial work in the Jail for which there is a large scope. This question is engaging the attention of the authorities.

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

(A) EDUCATION.

....

69. <u>GENERAL.</u>- There is no High School in the Chiefship but there is one Anglo Vernacular Middle School in Kushalgarh proper. There are also three primary schools in the rural area. There is also one

Chiefship Police with local modifications.

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Primar [illegible]

Primary Girls School in the town. The education is imparted free to the boys and girls. Prizes are distributed to the deserving students according to their merits. Khan Sahib Mhd. Ishaq Qureishi M.A., B.T., Inspector of Schools, Ajmer-Merwara, inspected the School in 1938 and made very useful suggestions for improvement.

70. COLVIN MIDDLE SCHOOL.- The Head Master is a Law Graduate. There are two more graduates on the staff. There is no trained teacher, however, The tutorial staff consists of 12 teachers including the Head Master. The average number of boys on roll is 195 and the average attendance 160. The School is not affiliated to any educational body but conducts local examinations. Considering the growing need of the times, there is a pressing necessity of expanding the present middle school to a High School, which ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ cannot be done without additional expenditure. The question is, however, under consideration.

71. CURRICULUM.- The School follows the Curriculum prescribed for the middle section in Ajmer-Merwara.

72. EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.- The School has very recently started the Scouting movement. The total number of Scouts and Cubs are 10 and 15 respectively. War lectures and news are also among the popular activities of the School.

73. GAMES.- Foot-ball and Volley-ball have become popular among the boys. Games have been made compulsory and nominal game fee is charged.

74. GIRLS' SCHOOL.- There was only one mistress formerly. One more mistress was appointed in the year 1938. The average number of girls on roll is 30 and of attendance 22.

75. VILLAGE SCHOOLS.- There are three village schools at Dungra, Bari Sarwa and Barwas. Elementary education of primary section is imparted to the Bhil and other boys. The total number of boys attending these schools is 60. The rural population consists ~~xxx~~ mostly

mostly of Bhils who are totally illiterate and require further educational facilities so that they may be able to know about their land revenue dues etc. By educating the Bhil boys better candidates can be made availble for Tadwiship.

76. JAGIR AREAS.- The Jagir areas are so far devoid of any educational activity. There are no schools in the Thikanas which is a great drawback. Opening of schools in Jagir areas is a pressing necessity. Thakur of Mohkampura has started a Primary School in his Thikana and has made arrangements for giving tuition to the boys. He takes a lively interest in increasing xxxxxxx literacy among the Bhils.

77. SCHOOL BUILDING.- The present school building can not accomo--date the growing number of boys. There is no building for the Girls' School, but the construction of one is contemplated. Similarly there are no proper houses for the village schools.

(B) MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

......

78. GENERAL. - The Chiefship maintains one Hospital at Kushalgarh and two dispensaries, one at Dungra and one at Bari Sarwa. The Kushalgarh Hospital stands xxxxxx on the outskirts of the town in front of the Central Jail. The Hospital provides one dispensing room, one surgical dressing room, one ear; nose, throat and eye wash room, one operation room, one consulting room, one store room and an office. New Indoor Wards have also been constructed during the Administration time. These provide 6 beds in all, three for males and three for females.

79. TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE STAFF.- Total strength of the staff now working is as under :-

Year.	Amount spent on normal works	Amount spent on Famine works.
	Rs	Rs
1936-37	2,532	34,166
1937-38	24,266	4,392
1938-39	12,071	-
1939-40	12,906	-
1940-41	11,113	-
1941-42	~~[illegible]~~ 13,149	-
Total	Rs 76,037	Rs 38,558
	Grand total	1,14,595

For [illegible]

86. FAMINE RELIEF WORKS.-Rs 34,166 and Rs 4,392 were spent on famine relief works during years 1936-37 and 1937-38 respectively. Earthen dams were raised of Bethan Sagar, Biccoe Tank, Harendra Sagar and Qaiyum Sagar. Many wells were also sunk, in the villages. Some roads were repaired. Out of the total amount spent Rs 20,000/- only were spent on Public Works and the remaining amount was granted as Taccavi to cultivators for sinking of wells etc.

87. KUSHALGARH- BAMNIA ROAD.- Prior to the administration the condition of this road was very bad. At places it was only 7 or 8 feet wide. The road was surveyed in 1937-38 and ~~the road~~ has now been widened to 12 to 15 feet. The Ghanta portion of the road was widened to 25 feet and after proper filling 2 miles portion of the road has been metalled. Some Rapats have also been constructed. Almost all the muddy portions have been repaired. A sum of about Rs 15,000/- was spent on this road.

88. KUSHALGARH-JHALOD ROAD. - Nearly Rs 50,000/- were ~~[illegible]~~ spent on this road on earthwork and a few rapats by the late regime, but the earthwork had suffered badly by the first rains and almost all the rapats and culverts breached as no proper supervision

supervision was exercised and the work was ~~xxxx~~ left to the contractors' own sweet will. During Administration the earthwork was repaired and some 15 rapats and culverts were constructed including the Lor Rapat. Some portion of the road has also been metalled. Nearly Rs 30,000/- have been spent on this work. Out of this a sum of Rs 5,000/- was received from the Government from Petrol Fund.

~~xxxxxxxx~~ 89. BUILDINGS.- The following buildings were constructed during the Administration:-

(1) Guest House, (2) Patan Police Thana, (3) Inpatients' wards attached to the Kushalgarh Hospital, (4) P.W.D. Office, (5) Naka at Kotri Bagicha, (6) Cutcha Naka at Amlipara, (7) Cutcha Naka at Khera and (8) Sub Inspector's quarters at Kushalgarh.

90. TANKS.- Scarcity of water was felt very much at Patan and Sadariya and, therefore, two tanks were constructed at these places.

(D) MUNICIPALITY.

.....

91. GENERAL.- There is only one Municipality in the Chiefship, viz. in Kushalgarh town. Though the Municipality exists long since during the late regime, the arrangements of conservancy were far from being satisfactory. There was a body of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ members nominated by the late regime which never met. Some of the members have died while some have left Kushalgarh. Proposals to form a new body are under consideration.

92. CONSERVANCY.- Proper steps have been taken for the conservancy of the town. Water in the wells is permanganated at intervals. Permanent staff of sweepers has been engaged for cleaning the streets and

streets and lanes.

93. TOWN ROADS.- There were no proper roads in the town and it was rather an agony to cross the muddy roads during the rainy weather. Some principal roads ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the town have now been metalled during the Administration, and a few rapats and culverts have also been constructed.

94. ~~XXXXXXX~~ STREET LIGHTING- Arrangements for the street lighting in the town have been made and the contract is auctioned every year. Arrangements for lighting in Dungra, Patan and Bari Sarwa were also made.

95. SOURCES OF INCOME. The income is derived mainly from import duties of customs. Miscellaneous taxes on easement etc. have also been levied. The figures of reciepts and expenditure for the years under report are given in Appendix XVII

96. MUNICIPAL ACT.- There is no Municipal Act in vogue in the Chiefship. A Municipal Act has now been drafted and objections of the public to the same have been invited. It is hoped that the Act will soon be promulgated.

CHAPTER VII.

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TRADE, INDUSTRY AND MINES.

97. COMMERCE AND TRADE.- The capital as well as the territory of the Chiefship being very far from the railway line the trade in the Chiefship is not in a thriving condition. The chief trade in which the Sahukars and other traders are interested is export of food grains and other raw ~~agricultural~~ products which find market in Bamnia Mandi in the Holkar State and Dohad in the Panch Mahals District of the Bombay Presidency. The Chiefship has also to look to the latter market for its chief importable goods, such

nobody has yet come forward to work the mines. License for prospecting was given to a firm of Bombay, but they have practi--cally done no work so far. Slight traces of other minerals, such as Mica, Calcite, Iron Ore or Hematite, etc. ~~xxxx~~ are also found. A real enterprising capitalist is needed to undertake the mining work in the Chiefship whereby the Chiefship is also hoped to gain much.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

....

101. DEVASTHAN AND CHARITIES.- The main State temples, viz. Shree Ram Mandir, Shree Roop Chaturbhuj Nath Temple and Shree Satya Ranjeet Nath Temple hold Jagirs from the Chiefship for their maintenance and they are managed by the Court of Wards. In addition there are 1? small temples the arrangements for the worship and lighting etc. of which are made by the Chiefship and a sum of Rs 1,130/- annualy at an average is spent for this as well as other charitable purposes.

102. MATCH EXCISE DUTY.- The Chiefship received the following sums on account of Match Excise Duty from the Government of India as its share:-

1936-37	Rs	4,139
1937-38	"	4,859
1938-39	"	2,139
1939-40	"	2,115
1940-41	"	577
1941-42	"	2,545

103. PETROL DUTY.- A sum of Rs 5,000/- was received in the year 1939-40 from the Government of India from the Petrol Fund and

one was utilised on the construction of the Puchalgarh-Jhaloa road.

104. STABLES AND OTHER TRANSPORT.- Only one car was left by the late Rawal. One lorry and a truck were purchased by the Administration. The private cars owned by the minor Chief and the members of the ruling family are maintained by their owners. There are at present 7 horses in the Stables.

105. GUEST HOUSE.- There was no guest house building in the past and the Political Officers and other State guests used to stay in tents pitched for them. The Administration constructed a guest house in 1939 and the difficulties experienced in the past have now been removed. Recurring expenditure of Rs 1,000/- to 2,000/- which used to be spent ~~xxxxxx~~ for bringing tents, crockery, etc. from Udaigarh railway Station and elsewhere by the cartmen and furniture of the guest house have now been saved.

106. CENSUS.- The decennial Census of Puchalgarh Chiefship along with the All India Census was carried out in 1941.

107. WAR EFFORTS.- The Chiefship has done its bit for the war and its financial efforts have been as under.-

Years		Donations	Monthly Subscription.
1939-40	...	Rs 2,479-5-0	Rs 350-0-0
1940-41	...	" 4,118-1-0	" 740-8-0
1941-42	...	" 246-14-0	" 753-8-0
	Total	Rs 6,844-4-0	Rs 1,844-0-0

In addition to the above the Chiefship has invested Rs 8,000/- in War Loans and Rs 415-9-7 was paid towards the cost of 5 units.

On completion by the Kushalgarh Zenana Party the units were forwarded to the Red Cross Commissioner, Bombay.

I08. POPPY DAY CELEBRATIONS.- Poppy Day is observed every year and sums recovered by the School children by the sale of poppies are sent to the President, Ex-Services Association (India) Rajputana Branch, Ajmer. The sale proceeds of poppies has been as under:-

I937-38	...	Rs 42-0-0
I938-39	...	" 53-4-0
I939-40	...	" 57-0-0
I940-4I	...	" 66-I0-0
I94I-42	...	" 78-I3-0

I09. IMPROVEMENTS IN JAGIR AREAS.- A scheme for sinking of wells, construction of roads and Primary Schools was prepared. Except one well in Potlia a Jagir village of Kanwar Bharat Singh now under the Court of Wards and another in Churada were constructed. Owing however to rising cost of material the scheme could not be pursued further.

II0. MISSIONS. There are two Roman Catholic Missions in the Chiefship. They established their institutions during the late regime -one at Ambapara and the other at Mahuri. Both the Missions are doing excellent work. They have besides opening Schools for the villagers have established 2 Dispensaries with accommodation for inpatients. They also keep trained Nurses for midwifery cases. During the cholera they assisted greatly in combating the disease.

II0. DEBTS. Besides the debt which the present Administration had to incur for reasons stated in paragraph 46 supra the late Raoji Sahib left following debts:-

		Amount of debts.	Amount repaid.
I. Seth Sakrabhai Lallubhai of Ahmedabad. ...	Rs	I,577-II-0	I,577-II-0
2. Vaidya Narain Shanker for treatment. ...	"	I,785-2-0	I,785-2-0
3. Allowance due to the late Kanwar Brij Behari Singh.	"	2,062-0-0	2,062-0-0
4. Maharaj Sheodan Singhji of Sheorati. Money deposited with the late Raoji and not paid. ...	"	8,000-0-0	4,000-0-0

Items I,2 and 3 have been paid while item 4 is being repaid by instalments. During his illness at Indore the late Raoji Sahib did not pay many bills for his treatment out of the allowance which he received from the Chiefship and which have been paid by the Chiefship after his death.

When leaving Kushalgarh in I936 the late Raoji Sahib took away with him every thing which could be removed including State jewellery and papers. Some property was at Dohad which is now in possession of the Chiefship and the question of its distribution or otherwise is still under consideration. The Junior Rani Sahiba has laid claim to this property on the strength of a Will left by the late Raoji Sahib.

III. ARBORICULTURE. Since taking over the Administration side by side with the construction of roads trees are being planted. In course of time when the trees reach maturity they will bring good income from mango fruits.

II2. Before concluding my report I cannot fail to express my deepfelt gratitude to successive Political officers for their extremely kind and

generous

uncommon especially as such castes are often numerically the weakest There is at all events an intelligible excuse for their existence even if the strait laced critic may not regard it as an adequate reason

17 *Recognised concubinage*

Any magistrate who has had occasion to enquire into the exact status of an alleged wife knows that the term wife (*aurat mehraru* etc) is by no means definite It covers not only the woman who has been married by the full legal form (*byah*) but one who as a widow has been married by a maimed rite (*dharewa, karao sagai*) and also a concubine (*bithlai rakhi*) As a rule, castes which permit only virgin marriage recognize no legal rite save *byah* castes which permit widows to remarry recognize the maimed rite as adequate in the case of such remarriage whilst some castes permit concubinage as well which is so far legal that the children are admitted to caste rights and sometimes also to a restricted right of inheritance In most cases such concubinage must be with a woman of the caste but there are exceptions The Chamar Bhangi and a few other similar castes permit concubinage with a woman of higher caste—a curious form of snobbery The Beriya permits concubinage in any shape Unrecognized concubinage is punished by excommunication frequently the payment of a fine and the provision of a feast to the brotherhood is necessary to win recognition even of such concubinage as is permitted

18 *Pre-marital immorality*

Some very low castes, such as the Agariya Baheliya Barai Barwar Bhuiyar Byar and Dhangar are willing to condone immorality between two members of the same caste on payment of a fine and provision of a feast to the brotherhood so long as the guilty pair subsequently marry Similar behaviour with an outsider is forbidden by all castes save those who devote their girls to a life of immorality or such castes as the Bansphor and Basor who condone it if the outsider is of a higher caste The Ghasiyas still follow a very old custom by which a

[1] e g amongst Agariyas, Baris Barwars and Byars.

council Adultery is punishable under the criminal law, and cases in which it is the point at issue are not infrequent

21 Forms of marriage ceremony

The *byah* can be carried out in one of two forms, both in common use called *charhawa* and *dola* The great and only important difference between them is that the former is carried out at the house of the bride and the latter at the house of the bridegroom The rites vary considerably from caste to caste, and it is unnecessary to give details which are always to be found for any caste in Mr Crooke s pages The most important parts of the ceremony are usually

(i) the *kanyadan* (giving away of the bride by her father)

(ii) the *pheri bhaunwar* (circumambulation of the marriage-shed, or of a pole in its midst) which is carried out five or seven times by the pair together with their clothes knotted

(iii) the *sendurdan* or marking of the parting of the bride s hair with red lead by the bridegroom

Other interesting ceremonies are

(iv) the *rasbarag* a comparison of the horoscopes of bridegroom and bride

(v) the *tilak* a ceremonial offering of the dowry to the bridegroom

(vi) the *matmangara* or collection of lucky earth by the priest to be placed in the *manro* or wedding shed

(vii) the *kohabar* rites—the *kohabar* is a retiring room whither the pair are conducted after the ceremony

(viii) the *khichari* or *dudhabati* a sort of *confarreatio* in which the bridal pair eat milk and rice together and in the presence of their relatives

[1] It is perhaps not too strong a statement that there is always something dubious about such cases. If the case be true, the council of the caste will generally have satisfied the husband s vengeance to the f ll. Certainly it is always important to discover what the council has done in the matter and if it has done nothing then the reason of its inaction. It is also important to demand proof of *byah* or other legal marriage. Very often the co-respondent (accused) has run away with the *aurat* of the complainant, but the *aurat* is only a concubine so that there is no criminal offence

(ix) the *panvpuja*, or washing of the bridegroom's feet by the bride's father

Of these rites, the first is probably universal the last four are all low caste rites

The remarried rite known as *dharewa*, *sagai*, or *karao* is always of a simple nature, but varies considerably Rubbing red lead on the parting of a woman's hair, and putting oil on her head, the gift of a present to the bride by the bridegroom, sometimes accompanied by the bride's declaration in the caste council of her willingness to accept him the recitation of a *katha*, and the knotting together of the clothes of the pair,—are some of the forms of this rite There is also, of course, a tribal feast. It is obvious that, in this type of marriage ceremony, so long as something is done to publish the marriage, it matters very little what that something actually is

22 *The age of marriage*

There have been many theories to account for the custom of infant marriage It has no Vedic authority whatever the lawbooks enjoin it, but the ages approved by them are not so low as they have since become, and there is some evidence that the custom had opponents It is by no means clear when it came into force popular belief assigns it to the time of the early Muhammadan invaders

The principal theories of the origin of this custom are five in number

(i) The lawgivers state that the early marriage is necessary to purge the girl of original sin, and to save her father's soul by the birth of a son to carry on the domestic worship But why should the desirability of the birth of a son compel a girl to be married several years before there is any chance of her being able to bear one? The account is obviously *ex post facto*—as the accounts of the ancient lawgivers often are

(ii) A theory that the custom was designed to save the girl from her own desires at a time when on one hand, the position of woman was lowered, and on the other, the paternal power had increased Facts are against this theory When the lawgivers first enjoined the desirability

of infant marriage the position of women had not been lowered And it is surely ridiculous to suppose that fathers though armed with increased authority were unable to control their daughters without proceeding to such lengths as this

(iii) A theory that refers the custom to the influence of hypergamy Hypergamy by limiting the number of available husbands, makes it desirable to secure a bride groom as soon as possible Again facts contradict the theory In the time of the lawgivers hypergamy did not exist mixed marriages were not infrequent and conse quently there was an ample supply of potential husbands

(iv) Mr Nesfield s theory is that infant marriage was a means devised to save girls from intra tribal commun ism and marriage by capture At the period of the law books however Aryan society had long passed out of that stage of civilization where such customs were possible

(v) Finally there is the theory that by infant marri age Hindu parents hoped to preserve their girls from Muhammadan abductors This is simply Mr Nesfield s theory post-dated but the lawgivers date was long anterior to that of Muhammad let alone to that of the earliest Muhammadan invasions of India

The above account shows that theorists agree in re ferring the custom to an Aryan source and consequently regard it as characteristic rather of high than of low castes And when they find the custom in a low caste, they explain it as the result of imitating the customs of superior castes during the process of Hinduization

No authority has ever admitted that the Dravidian element in Hindu society might have developed such a custom independently Arguing from probabilities in the absence of evidence all writers have held it to be incon ceivable that such an institution should arise in the struggle for existence out of which society has been evolved The savage woos in a summary and not over delicate fashion a sturdy young woman who can make herself generally useful But as a result of fresh en

Cf *Census Report India* 1901 para. 710 *et seq* for a fuller account of these theories.

quiries, we now know that infant marriage exists among savages in all quarters of the globe[1] This fact disposes of the picture of the savage wooing his bride with a battle-axe, and (like the wicked sailor in *Robinson Crusoe*) indifferent to her looks provided she is useful Since savage races elsewhere have developed this custom independently of contact with a higher race, it becomes possible that our low castes have similarly developed it and it is now necessary to examine cases of infant marriage in low castes

Unfortunately, it is impossible to obtain clear evidence in the United Provinces, for there are no castes which are still entirely free of Hindu influences Infant marriage, though a common, is not an invariable custom amongst savages, and we cannot ignore entirely the chance that a low caste may have acquired it in the process of Hinduization, indeed a low caste, formerly addicted to adult marriage, probably would adopt infant marriage as a part of that process It is worth noting, however, that the practice is extremely common amongst low castes, and also commoner in the east of the Provinces, where the low castes and the lower branches of widespread castes principally reside, than in the west

The marriage age of various low castes is given in the table below Where it is not stated, the boy's age is greater by a year or two than the girl's When two sets of figures are given, the second is that reported in 1911, the first that given by Mr Crooke (1895) It will be noticed that the second is invariably lower than the first, a change which can only be attributed to the process of Hinduization

Caste	*Girls*	*Boys*
Agariya	5-10	—
Aheriya	7-10, 5-9	5-12
Ahir	7-12	10-16

[1] Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* Curiously enough this writer, being apparently ignorant of the prevalence of the custom amongst low castes, regards Indian infant marriage as exceptional because it is practised by a civilized race

Caste	*Girls*	*Boys*
Baheliya	7-8	—
Baiswar	10-12	14
Bajgi	infant	adult
Balahar	8-9	10-11
Banjara	7 15	—
Bansphor	infant	12 13
Barai	8-9	9-12
Bargahi	adult 7 11	9-12
Barhai	9	14 15
Bari	12 13 10	12 10-12
Barwar	infant	adult
Basor	10-12	—
Bhangi	7-9	10-11
Bhar	5 12	—
Bharbhunja	7-9	—
Bhuiya	12	—
Bhuiyar	10-12	—
Bind	10-12	—
Byar	6-12	—
Chai	10-12	—
Chamar	3-8	—
Chero	5-10	—
Chhipi	infant	—
Churihar	5 10	—
Dangi	7-8	12 13
Dhangar	10-12	—
Dhanuk	7 11	—
Dharkar	adult	adult
Dhobi	12	14
Dom (Hills)	8-10	—
Dom (Plains)	11 12	—
Dusadh	adult	adult
Gadariya	7 12	—
Ghasiya	adult	adult
Gond	adult	adult
Goriya	under 14	5-10
Gujar	9-16	—
Habura	adult	adult
Halwai	9-10 5-12	10-14

Caste	*Girls*	*Boys*
Kachhi	9	10
Kahar	8-12	8-15
Kalwar	infant	infant
Kanjar	7-8, 6-8	10-12, 9-10
Kapariya	7-8	—
Kasera	under 12	—
Kewat	5-7	5-10
Khagi	8-10	12-13
Khairwa	7-15	—
Kharwar	5-10	—
Khatik	8-10, 3-15	3-15
Koiri	under 12	—
Korwa	10	12
Kumhar	9-10	10-15
Lodha	5-10	6-12
Lohar	5-14	—
Luniya	10-12	—
Majhwar	12	16
Mali	7-10	10-15
Mallah	9-10	10-12
Nai	under 10	—
Nat	10-12	15
Pasi	5-16	—
Phansiya	7-12	—
Sahariya	0-10	—
Sejwari	9	10
Teli	infant	infant
Tharu	adult	adult

These figures show that adult marriage is rare and infant marriage common amongst low castes, whilst there is a tendency to lower the age of marriage, consequent on the rise of low castes in the social scale, which is only partially counteracted by the efforts of reformers to raise that age

Other circumstances, however, affect the question The time when a man will marry his child depends in part on the amount of money he can spare for the pur-

pose A good crop means a lengthy marriage season [1] In the fat years 1909-1911 there was a large increase of married persons under five years of age

23 Terms of relationship

The vernacular of the United Provinces is remarkably rich in its terms of relationship there is always one word and sometimes more for fifty or sixty different kinds of relative Yet the Indian, in speaking of his relatives and still more in speaking to them manages to get along with very few a fact which causes at times no little confusion *Bhai* (brother) includes not only a full (*saga*) brother but a half brother every kind of cousin approximately equidistant with the speaker from a common ancestor a fellow casteman or even a fellow villager It is common perhaps more common than not to address certain relatives by terms denoting different relationships A wife is often called *bahu* (son s wife) both by her husband and her children sometimes she is called *bhauji* (brother s wife) again by all her family Both daughters- and sons-in law call their father in law *abba* (father) or *chacha* (uncle) A father is often addressed as *chacha* (father s brother) or *bhaiya* (brother) or *dada* (grandfather) by his sons, an uncle calls his nephews *beta* (son) or *pota* (grandson) This confusing practice has its parallel in English family life when one relative imitates another in the name he gives to a third A man for instance calls his wife s father by the name father because his wife does He will speak of a cousin without describing him as first or second or once removed just as an Indian speaks of a *bhai* without explaining the kind of *bhai* that he means and the reason is that both cousin and *bhai* are enough of a description for ordinary purposes The custom is, however produced to extreme lengths in Indian family life younger members of a family call their elder relatives by the same terms as other elder relatives do and as under the joint family system there are many more such elders

[1] Hindu marriages can only take place d ring a certain period or periods of the year which are fixed by the astrologers. The marriage season is called *lagan*.

living together than there are in an English home, the result is most confusing The wife, for instance, lives with her husband's parents in her early married life They speak of and to her as *bahu*, as a consequence so do her husband and children Where the husband has no parents but has sisters, they call the wife *bhauji*, and therefore her husband and children also address her by the same term On the other hand, she calls her husband's father *abba* or *chacha* because her husband does, and he calls her mother *bhauji* because she does, having learnt it from her paternal aunt The process obviously can be carried on almost indefinitely, but the most striking cases of using the name of one relation for another are

(i) Amongst Hindus, father and mother are called paternal uncle and aunt

(ii) Amongst both Hindus and Muhammadans, the father's brother and his wife are called father and mother

(iii) Amongst Muhammadans, the father's sister and mother's brother's wife, amongst Hindus the latter, are called mother

(iv) Amongst both Hindus and Muhammadans, cousins, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are called brother or sister

(v) Amongst both Hindus and Muhammadans, nephews are called sons

(vi) Amongst Muhammadans, parents-in-law are called indifferently by the terms for most kinds of uncle and aunt

In the first and second cases, and their correlatives, the fourth and the fifth, the cause amongst Hindus is probably the joint family system Brothers and their progeny live in the same house, and it is not strange that the terms for uncle and father, son and nephew, become interchangeable, and that cousins regard each other as brothers The sixth case is referable to cousin marriage, which is common amongst Muhammadans, so that the parents-in-law are as a matter of fact frequently uncles and aunts [1]

[1] For a list of terms of relationship see *Census Report, U P*, 1911, pp 236 *et sqq*

A husband seldom calls his wife by her name a wife never calls her husband by his This custom is usually explained as due to respect but why should respect take this particular form? Most probably the custom is one instance of the general taboo on the use of names, which is common in many races The name is supposed to be closely connected with the personality and it is advisable to keep it secret for should an enemy chance to learn it he will acquire control over its owner's personality For this reason Hindus have two names, one secret one for use and frequently give a child some opprobious nickname such as Ghasita Tinkauriya or Bhikhu It is said that the officiating priest causes the bride to pronounce her future husband's name at the wedding by introducing it into the formulas which she has to repeat As the name is so often that of a god his inventive faculty is not greatly strained The usual circumlocution adopted is father or mother of so and so or a general term of respect and affection

24 The taboo on the use of th names f husb nd and wif

Principal uthorities.—Frazer *Tot mism and Exogamy* (1910).
Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (1909).
Crooke *Tribe and Castes of the N W P and Oudh* (1896).
C nsus R port U.P 911

The commandment, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God i vain i due to the same idea. To take His name in vain (unnecessarily or heedlessly), is to insult His personality Another explanation refers the taboo t marriage by capture.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER IV

The Origin of the Levirate

McLennan[1] refers the origin of the levirate to a system of fraternal polyandry In such a system, a wife is the joint property of a group of brothers when one of them dies, her position is not affected, for she remains the property of the rest Her children, by whatever brother, are affiliated to the eldest of them in his lifetime and the affiliations to the deceased husband which are characteristic of the Jewish and Aryan levirates are a mere extension of this practice Finally, if in such a system a younger brother were to acquire a wife of his own, he would leave the joint establishment altogether,[2] and his elder brother would have no more claim to his wife at his death than to the wife of any other stranger which explains why an elder brother may not marry a younger brother's widow

Sir James Frazer[3] refers the custom to a system of group marriage under which all the men of a group, who are usually brothers, share all the wives of that group And there are other explanations, which need not be given[4]

The custom is widespread it is found in all ages of the world's history, in all parts of the globe, and in all sorts of marriage systems No single explanation will suffice to cover all the instances of it and indeed it takes different forms in different circumstances But the fundamental idea which underlies the custom appears to be the conception of the wife as property, and therefore as heritable It may be objected that the natural heir to a man's pro-

[1] J F McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (1886)
[2] As actually happens in Jaunsar-Bawar
[3] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910)
[4] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh* (1896), Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (1901), *Ency Brit* (11th edition),—article on 'Levirate', Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*

perty is his son, whilst the heir in this particular case is the brother But firstly, even in respect of other kinds of property the son does not always inherit for instance, though a minor might get the chief s estate he might not by reason of his minority get the chieftainship, which would then pass to some older relative And secondly inheritance of women means marriage and there is no race however low that would permit the union of mother and son the natural heir in such a case *would* be the brother

This theory does not explain the prohibition on the Succession of the elder brother to the younger brother s widow But firstly this prohibition is not universal in many African tribes the elder brother does so succeed Secondly there is a widespread taboo on intercourse of any kind whatever between the elder brother and his younger brother s wife [1] which taboo is due to quite other reasons but where it exists as it does in India then *a fortiori* there can be no marriage between them And lastly the elder brother would normally predecease his younger brother and normally therefore would not be available to marry the latter s widow and in primitive races the normal is apt to become the legal

The Aryan form of the levirate (*niyoga*) is definitely based on the idea of the wife as property The husband who authorizes it after his death could also have authorized it during his life and the sons born in *niyoga* are affiliated to him because they like their mother, are his property

The evidence regarding the Jewish custom is less conclusive chiefly because the various references to it relate to various stages in its development and its original form cannot be determined But the story of Ruth points the same way Boaz was not a levir whose duty it would have been to marry Ruth and raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance He was merely a near kins-

Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy*—references under Avoidance
Ruth iv 5 10; Deut. xxv 6.

man', or *goel*,[1] who had under the Jewish law the right to purchase *for himself* the land of Elimelech and his sons[2] But in that capacity he chose also to 'purchase Ruth to be his wife' [3] and having done so, to play the part of a levir and so raise up an heir to that land For our purpose, the important point is that Ruth was purchased with the land, and was accordingly regarded as property

Finally, the low caste custom of the present day also depends on the same idea A levir would not pay for the widow, since he inherits her but if any other person would marry her, he must buy her of her late husband's family, whose property she is

[1] Ruth iii 9, 12, and elsewhere the Hebrew word is *goel* throughout Cf Lev xxv 25

[2] Ruth iv 3

[3] Ruth iv 10

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER IV

Proverbs on Marriage

1 Universality of marriage

Jaiki joru taiko ghar	Who has a wife has a home
Begharni ghar, bhut ka dera	A wifeless house is the devil's abode
Jiski joru andar, uska nasib Sikandar	A man with a wife at home, is as lucky as Alexander (the Great)
Na mili nari, to sada brahmchari	A wifeless man takes to religion

2 Endogamy

Pani launo mul so dhik, Byah karno kul so dhik	Look to the spring ere you draw of its water Look to the race ere you marry its daughter
	Give gifts within your *gotra*, save the gift of a daughter (Sanskrit)

3 Widow marriage

Pheron ki gunagar	Her marriage her sin (of a child-widow)
Burhi ghori, lal lagam	An old mare with a red bridle (referring to the red lead mark of a married woman)
Falane ki man khasam kiya bahut bura kiya Karke chhor diya aur bhi bura kiya	A mother took a husband that was bad She left him that was worse

4 **Levirate**

Gharib ki bah ab ki bhawaj	The poor man's wif is everybody's elder brother's widow
Dada leib ban ban leik sagali man.	His wife depends on the eldest brother the whole family depends on his wife.
Bhawaji ki thaili dewa araft k rai.	The *dewa* becomes a banker through the wealth of his elder brother's widow

5 **Polygamy**

Ek byahwal kakravarti; Dwi byahwala ki kakurgati Tin byahwal ki bara bhag Dwi lijawan dandi k lijae ag	A man with one wife lives the life of a king; A man with two wives is a poor wretched thing (literally has dog l ck); A man with three wives has a fate that is dire Two wives bear his coffin the third lights his pyre. (*Bara bh g,* literally great luck is sarcastic.)
Saut wa maut.	A second wife means death.

6. **Polyandry**

Do khasam ki joru chausar ki got	The wife of two husbands is like draught at backgammon.
Ek joru sarke kunb ko bas hai	One wife is enough for a whole family

7 **Matriarchate**

Nana k t k khawe dada k pot kahlawe	He eats his mother's father's bread, but is called the grandson of his father's father
Sawa man k rel phula nani dekh nawasa bhula	The *k rela* flower blossoms in August; the daughter son sees (the wealth of) his mother mother and swells (with pride).
Sat mama k bhanja bhuka ki bhuka phire	The nephew of seven maternal ncles goes hungry (i.e. too many cooks poil the broth).
M m pk pha k bha kaka baron ka dal	Sons of mother's brother and f ther's sister are brothers; sons of f ther's elder and younger brothers are enemies.

8 **Cousin marriage**

J mama beti ahin dega t kaun d ga?	If my mother brother does not give me his daughter (i mar riage), then who will give me hi daughter?

CHAPTER V

COMMENSAL AND OTHER SIMILAR RESTRICTIONS OF CASTE

1 The idea of taboo

The daily life of a Hindu, from the cradle to the grave, is regulated by a code of ritual. His every act, every set of circumstances in which he may find himself, has its proper observances, which are minutely laid down The rites at birth, marriage and death, the fashion in matters of food, dress and ornament, the course of polite conversation, the etiquette connected with the use of the chair and the greeting of the guest—'rising and sitting' (*uthna baithna*), as the Hindu calls it—all are most carefully defined, and as carefully taught to the children of every respectable family

Many of these observances, according to Mr. Crooke,[1] are connected with the idea of 'taboo' Taboo depends on the conception that in every personality there is inherent a power, or rather a potentiality, for evil, which is to be dreaded and avoided The person in a state of taboo, and those with whom he comes in contact at such a time, are mutually dangerous to each other, as a precautionary measure he must, therefore, be carefully isolated This potentiality for evil is specially active at the crises of life, the mother and her child in childbirth, the bride and bridegroom at marriage, the dying man, the corpse, are all dangerous, and also specially susceptible to the evil potentiality in others It is the idea of taboo which explains many of the obscure rites connected with birth, marriage and death, it is also one of the causes of the strength of the caste system Since every stranger is a possible enemy, a man must needs take special pains to know who are his friends, and therefore

[1] *Natives of Northern India*, pp 194-5

must belong to a circle of persons whose interests are be yond question identical with his From this point of view the caste is a group of men united by bonds of com mon blood or common interests in self-defence against the dangers of the outer world

Food taboos

Food of course is specially liable to infection of this kind If the mere fall of the shadow of an evilly-disposed person is dangerous, a man must be very careful who cooks his food what food he eats and in what vessels he cooks it The food taboos of Hindu life complicate it to an almost in credible degree and as has many a time been pointed out prevent the growth of the good fellowship which we are wont to cement at the dinner table

Hindu food taboos are of several kinds

(i) The commensal taboo—which lays down the persons in whose company a man may eat food

(ii) The cooking taboo—which lays down the per sons who may cook the food that a man eats

(iii) The food taboo—which lays down what kinds of food a man may eat

(iv) The eating taboo—which lays down the proper ritual at a meal

(v) The drinking taboo—which lays down the per sons from whom a man may take water

(vi) The smoking taboo—which lays down the per sons whose pipe a man may smoke and in whose com pany he may smoke

(vii) The vessels taboo—which lays down the nature of the vessels that a man may use for eating drinking and cooking [1]

[1] Earlier writers, when referri g t these taboos, generally use langu-age that is vague or even misleading Sir R Burn i the *Provincial Census R port* of 901 for instance uses some variant of the phrase—so and so may tak food from so and so. And M Crooke usually writes—so and so may eat the food of so and so. The phrases might refer either to the commensal or cooking taboo. I fact, the reference is always to the latter but the phrase is then misleading because it does not bri g out the main poi t—that it is the caste f the cook that matters, not the caste of the host I may mention that when referring to these taboos as whole I have usually called them commensal and food restrictions.

Members of the same exogamous group can, of course, eat together, for they are relatives by blood. Members of different exogamous groups can also eat together if their groups can intermarry: the commensal and connubial restrictions are co-terminous. Indeed, the connexion between the two is so close as to show that it is causal, that originally two such groups could not eat together until intermarriage had actually occurred between them. At the present day the fact is obscured, for all groups that can intermarry have long since done so, but it is none the less certain. On the other hand, if two exogamous groups cease to intermarry and become endogamous in respect of each other, then they also cease to eat together. In other words, the endogamous unit is also the commensal unit. A custom of hypergamy does not vary the rule: all Rajput septs that intermarry eat together.

3 *(i) The commensal taboo*

It is essential to realize that in respect of the cooking taboo, the criterion is the caste of the person who cooks the food, not the caste of the person who offers it. It follows, therefore, that a high caste Hindu can eat the food of a man of any caste, however low, if his host possesses a cook of suitable caste. And that is why so many cooks are Brahmans. The Hindu draws a distinction between *kachcha* food, which is cooked in water, and *pakka* food, which is cooked with *ghi* (clarified butter). This distinction depends on the principle that *ghi*, like all the products of the sacred cow, protects from impurity; and since such protection is the object of all food taboos, this convenient fiction enables the Hindu to be less particular in the case of *pakka* than of *kachcha* food, and to relax his restrictions accordingly.

4 *(ii) The cooking taboo*

I have examined the rules of some seventy-six castes or endogamous groups; they can be summarized thus —

5 *(a) Kachcha food*

Every Hindu can eat *kachcha* food that has been prepared by a member of his own endogamous group or his *guru* (spiritual guide, who for this purpose ranks as a relative).

Thirty six castes confine themselves to this general rule and forbid their members to eat food cooked by anybody else Sixteen other castes will eat food cooked by a Brahman to which class we may add another two castes the Khattri and Saraswat Brahman who for a traditional reason will eat each other s *kachcha* food Four castes will also eat food cooked by Rajputs The remaining eighteen castes are less particular and will eat food cooked by others than the two castes mentioned But it is impossible to classify them accurately for each caste has its own[1] list of possible cooks It can, however be said that every caste s list consists of castes of a higher social rank than its own or of castes equal to itself in rank Out of the eighteen five very low castes will take food from almost anybody

6. *(b) Pakka food*

Every caste save the Kanaujiya Brahman, may eat *pakka* food cooked by a member of the same caste (*not* in this case, endogamous group) a *guru* a Halwai confectioner or a Kahar domestic servant The Kanaujiya will not eat food cooked by a Kahar a Sarwariya will not eat food cooked by a Halwai Ten castes confine themselves to the general rule The Saraswat Brahman will also eat a Khattri s *pakka* food Thirteen castes will eat such food if cooked by a Brahman five will also eat it if cooked by a Rajput Next comes a class of some forty five cases, each of which will eat the *pakka* food of various castes of lower rank than Brahman or Rajput but of rank higher than or equal to its own and of this class, eight castes will eat the food of almost anybody

7. *Classification based on the cooking taboo*

The seventy six castes whose rules we are investigating can now be classified as follows

(a) *Kachcha* food In respect of *kachcha* food there are five main groups

(i) Those who will eat food cooked by a member of the endogamous group and *guru* only

[1] I ignore the peculiarities of the Khattri and Saraswat Brahmans in respect of *kachcha* food, and of the Kanaujiya and Saraswat Brahmans in respect of *pakka* food.

(ii) Those who will eat food cooked by the above, and also by Brahmans

(iii) Those who will eat food cooked by the above, and also by Rajputs

(iv) Those who will eat food cooked by the above, and also by lower castes of rank at least equal to their own

(v) Those who will eat food cooked by almost anybody

(b) *Pakka* food In respect of *pakka* food, there are also five groups The first consists of castes who will eat food cooked by a caste fellow, *guru*, Halwai or Kahar the other four correspond to the last four groups under *kachcha* food

The following table shows the group in which each of the seventy-six castes falls —

Caste	*Group*	
	kachcha	*pakka*
Agariya	3	1
Agarwala	2	4
Agrahri	1	1
Aheriya	4	4
Ahir	2	4
Bajgi	5	5
Balahar	4	4
Balai	4	4
Banjara	2	2
Barai	1	4
Barhai	2	4
Bari	4	4
Basor	4	4
Bhangi	5	5
Bhar	2	4
Bharbhunja	1	4
Bhuiya	4	5
Bind	1	1
Brahman (other)	1	4
Brahman Kanaujiya	1	1
Brahman Saraswat	1	1
Brahman Sarwariya	1	1
Byar	2	2
Chamar	5	5

Caste	*Group*	
	kachcha	*pakka*
Chai	1	1
Chero	1	2
Chhipi	2	4
Dangi	2	2
Dharkar	1	5
Dom	5	5
Dusadh	4	4
Gandharb	2	4
Gharuk	1	4
Golapurab	2	4
Gujar	4	4
Gurchha	1	1
Halwai	1	4
Jat	4	4
Kachhi	1	1
Kahar	4	3
Kalwar	1	3
Kandu	2	4
Kanjar	5	5
Kapariya	3	3
Kasarwani	1	2
Kasaundhan	1	2
Kasera	1	4
Kathiyara	2	2
Kayastha	2	2
Kewat	1	4
Khairwa	1	1
Khandelwal	2	4
Khangar	4	5
Kharwar	1	2
Khatik	4	4
Khattri	1	2
Kisan	1	1
Koiri	1	1
Kori	3	4
Kumhar	1	1
Kurmi	1	4
Lodha	2	4
Lohar	1	4
Majhwar	1	2
Mali	4	4

Caste	Group	
	kachcha	*pakka*
Mallah	1	2
Nai	1	4
Panka	1	2
Pasi	2	4
Rahwari	1	4
Rajput	1	4
Ramaiya	1	4
Ror	1	4
Sejwari	3	3
Sonar	1	3
Tarkihar	1	4

With the assistance of this list we can group the castes according to the severity of their taboos as follows

Group 1. Agrahri, Brahman Kanaujiya, Brahman Sarwariya, Brahman Saraswat, Chai, Gurchha, Kachhi, Khairwa, Kisan, Koiri, Kumhar

Group 2 Chero, Kasarwani, Kasaundhan, Kharwar, Khattri, Majhwar, Mallah, Panka

Group 3 Agariya, Banjara, Byar, Dangi, Kalwar, Kathiyara, Kayastha, Sonar

Group 4 Barai, Bharbhunja, Brahman (other), Gharuk, Halwai, Kasera, Kewat, Kurmi, Lohar, Nai, Rahwari, Rajput, Ramaiya, Ror, Tarkihar

Group 5 Agarwala, Ahir, Barhai, Bhar, Chhipi, Dharkar, Gandharb, Golapurab, Kandu, Khandelwal, Kapariya, Lodha, Pasi, Sejwari

Group 6 Kahar, Kori

Group 7 Aheriya, Balahar, Balai, Bari, Basor, Dusadh, Gujar, Jat, Khatik, Mali

Group 8 Khangar

Group 9 Bajgi, Bhangi, Chamar, Dom, Kanjar

This list shows clearly that there is no relation between a caste's social position and the severity of its cooking taboo For instance, in Group 1, there are three castes that are positively low in Group 2, there are five in Group 3, there are three On the other hand, in Group 4 there are the two highest castes and five others of good

position, whilst there are three castes of good position as low as Group 7 The severe restrictions of low castes are possibly the result of Hinduization in most cases the parvenu always goes to extreme lengths in such matters Or they may be due to the fact that such low castes still hold relatively primitive beliefs, and that the taboo idea underlying these restrictions is more vivid to them than to higher castes, who of course now regard the latter as of a purely social nature The Jat and Gujar in this as in other respects are a law unto themselves, as is natural in a tribal caste Rajputs are much less particular than most Vaisyas possibly they consider that their position puts them above criticism This is also the probable explanation of the relatively low place of Brahmans The receipt of food from all and sundry on religious or quasi religious occasions (such as the expiation of a caste offence) is of course an incident of the Brahman s profession but that does not affect the question For if the donor of such food is of too low a caste for the Brahman to eat his food and he does not possess a cook of the required status, the difficulty is solved by a gift of uncooked food which the recipients cook themselves and eat at (or near) the house of the donor

It should be mentioned that the restrictions of many castes vary in different places the variations are too complicated to analyse but apparently depend on the esteem in which the caste is locally held

8 (iii) The food taboos

The usual meal of all classes of Hindus consists of rice or pulse, either boiled or cooked with ghi vegetables sweet cakes, and *chuppatis*[1] a kind of griddle cake made of various kinds of flour This is a purely vegetarian meal and in fact Hindus eat relatively little meat. Many can seldom afford it Of those that can afford it many avoid it because they pride themselves on their ceremonial purity or because their religion forbids it In practice most Brahmans, many Rajputs, and many of the higher Vaisya groups are vegetarians and so are all Vaish

[1] *Chuppatis* are always *kachcha* food, cakes are always *pakka* food The rest vary according to the manner of cooking.

navas and Jains in every caste. But Saivas and Saktas[1] eat meat, with many others, even in these high castes. For there is no social prohibition against its use, which was common in the Vedic and epic periods, though condemned in the *Mahabharata*.

I have examined the food regulations of some sixty-six castes; they can be summarized as follows:

(i) Mutton, goat's flesh, venison and game birds are universally regarded as clean. No caste that eats meat at all would refuse these.

(ii) Many castes also eat fish.

(iii) A few castes also eat fowls or wild boar's flesh, or substitute them for fish.

(iv) Many castes will eat the flesh of any cloven-footed animal (except beef), with or without fish and fowls. This means, in practice, that they will eat the flesh of the domestic pig and wild boar, as well as mutton, goat's flesh and venison.

(v) Some low castes vary their diet with the flesh of animals that are not usually regarded as fit for food.

(iv) A few castes will eat beef.

9. The meat-food of various castes.

Sixteen castes confine themselves to the clean food mentioned above. These are the Arakh, Banjara, Barai, Bhar,[2] Bharbhunja, Bhot, Dusadh, Gharuk, Halwai, Kahar, Kayastha,[3] Luniya, Majhwar, Mali, Nai and Sonar. According to Dr Buchanan, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Saiwariya Brahman would also fall in this class, for they then ate goat, deer, porcupine, hare, partridge, quail, pigeon, dove, and wild duck. This was in Gorakhpur; it is doubtful if they still have so varied a meat-diet.

Fifteen castes also eat scaled fish, namely the Barwar, Gandharb, Kamkar, Kandu, Kasera, Kathak, Khairwa, Kisan, Koiri, Kumhar, Kurmi, Lohar, Mallah, Saraswat Brahman and the Tamboli.

[1] Vaishnava, Saiva, Sakta are Hindu sects; Jain a separate religion.
[2] Except those who keep pigs.
[3] Crooke says they do not eat venison; but I have often given Kayastha clerks a joint of black buck.

Two castes, the Baheliya and Balswar, eat fowls but not fish three castes the Kalwar, Kingariya and Teli eat both The Bundela Rajput eats wild boar s flesh the Jat and Gujar eat both that and fowls, but not fish

Four castes eat the flesh of any cloven footed animal save beef but will not eat fish or fowl These are the Balai Beriya Bhangi and Sahariya The Dhanuk adds fish to this diet, the Ghasiya adds fowls and seven castes eat all the animals mentioned namely the Bansphor Basor Byar Kharwar Kol Lodha,[1] and Panka

Four castes, the Beldár Bhuiya Bind and Pasi regard field rats as a delicacy

The Agariya Balahar Bajgi Chero and Sansiya will eat almost anything but beef

The Kewat will not eat beef pork or fowls, but in addition to the clean foods and fish eats tortoises and crocodiles

The Chamar Dhangar Dom and Korwa will eat beef the Dhangar in fact will eat anything except reptiles and the monkey whilst the Dom eats tiger s flesh and the Korwa bear and monkey

It will be noticed that with the exception of the Lodha (and he only in some places) no caste of even respectable status will eat the domestic pig, whilst only two such castes will eat fowls

Certain minor points may be mentioned Some castes have taboos peculiar to themselves the Agarwala for instance, will not eat the turnip carrot or onion the Dangi will not eat the onion and certain subcastes called Haldiya will not eat turmeric These, however are due to special superstitions In some castes such as the Byar Ghasiya and Kol pork is forbidden to women though the men eat it Nor are women allowed to drink intoxicating liquor as a rule but this is due chiefly to its cost How can a poor man afford to buy liquor for his women folk? was the plaintive answer of a Karwal who was questioned on the point

[1] In some places only

It is necessary to point out that a caste dietary like its cooking taboos, may vary in different parts of the province.

10. (1) The eating taboos.

A Hindu sits down to a meal either alone or with his caste fellows. The women cannot eat with the men: they wait till their lords have finished. So long as the meal or a part of it consists of *kachcha* food (as it usually does, since *chuppatis* appear at most meals), the man must dine with the precautions of a magic ceremony. He sits within a square marked off on the ground (*chauka*) inside which is the *chulha* or cooking place. Should a stranger's shadow fall upon this square, all cooked within it is polluted and must be thrown away.[1] In camp, Hindu servants may be seen, each well apart from the rest, each within his own *chauka*, cooking his food upon his own mud oven and eating alone; it is only the lowest castes who ever venture to neglect this very troublesome custom. In Moradabad are certain Chauhans, who claim to belong to the famous Rajput clan of that name, but are regarded as degraded, partly because they practice widow-marriage, partly because they eat *kachcha* food in the fields instead of in the decent privacy of their own homes and *chaukas*.

11. The Nagar Brahman.

Though the Nagar Brahman is not at home in the United Provinces, he will serve as an example of the lengths to which the ritual of eating can go. Before eating he must bathe and dress himself in clean garments: if these are of cotton, they too must first be washed, and dried in a place where nothing impure can touch them. Numerous accidents may occur to render him impure, and so compel him to desist from his meal. If he touches an earthen vessel that has contained water: if he touches a piece of cotton cloth, or of raw cotton that has been touched by a person who was not himself in a state of ceremonial purity, or else has not been dipped in oil or *ghi*: if he touches leather or bone or paper (unless in the last case there is Hindi writing on it): if he touches

[1] It is dubious how far in practice this superstition would go. The entrance of a stranger within the *chauka* would certainly pollute the food; but I doubt if any but high castes would object to his shadow.

or is touched by a donkey pig dog,[1] or a child that is old enough to eat solid food—then he is at once defiled Again contact with a Brahman who though pure is him self eating or has just eaten will make him impure if he has not actually begun to eat He may not read a printed book at his meal because printing ink is impure he may not read a manuscript book unless it is bound with silk and the binder has used a special paste of pounded tamarind seed In such circumstances, one begins to wonder that anybody thinks it worth while to eat at all

(ii) The drinking taboo

Rules regarding the acceptance of water are on the whole the same as those regarding the acceptance of *pakka* food but with a tendency to greater laxity The vessel in which the water is contained affects the question A high caste man will allow a low caste man to fill his *lota* (drinking vessel) for him but he will not drink from the *lota* of that low caste man Or a high caste man will give anybody (save untouchables) a drink, by pouring water from his own *lota* into that of the drinker all the men employed at stations to supply railway travellers with water are Brahmans All castes will take water from Barhais Baris Bharbhunjas Halwais, Kahars and Nais and of course from higher castes still

3 (iii) The smoking taboo

Rules regarding smoking are stricter It is very seldom that a man will smoke with anybody but a caste fellow the reason no doubt is that smoking with a man usually involves smoking his pipe and this involves much closer contact even than eating food which he has prepared So stringent is this rule indeed that the fact that Jats, Ahirs, and Gujars will smoke together has been regarded as a ground for supposing that they are closely akin Some castes, the Kayastha for instance, differentiate between smoking in *narial* fashion—in which the hands are closed round the pipe and the smoke is drawn in without putting the stem actually in the mouth—and smoking in the usual way

[1] But not a cat for nothing will keep a cat away from food.

14 (vii) The vessels taboo

Little need be said on the subject of vessels[1] There are rules laying down what sort of vessels should be used, and of what metal they should be made, but they are rather religious than social. Hindus must use brass or alloy (although the use of alloy is hedged about by numerous and minute injunctions, and if such vessels become impure, the only remedy is to get them remoulded) The risk of pollution makes it imperative for every man to have a few vessels of his own The minimum consists of a *lota* (drinking vessel), *batlua* (cooking pot), and *thali* (dish) Better class folk add a *katora* (saucer), *gilas* (glass), *kalchhal* (spoon), and *gagra* (water pot) For feasts, the brotherhood usually keep a set of large vessels of all kinds, which they lend to the host these are bought with the proceeds of fines, and are common property

15 Pollution by touch

Any person, who is himself in a state of ceremonial impurity, is capable of causing pollution by touch That is why a woman in her courses, a small-pox patient, the mother and child at child-birth, the relative who has set fire to the funeral pyre, are all carefully segregated for a certain period, for during that period they are impure, and consequently a danger to anybody with whom they may come in contact A certain number of low castes, however, are regarded as being permanently impure, and therefore permanently capable of causing pollution by touch Any Hindu who may come in direct contact with such an 'untouchable', himself becomes impure, and before eating food, or embarking on any undertaking which demands ceremonial purity, must bathe himself and wash his clothes This superstition has never been so strong in the United Provinces as in some other parts of India, where the shadow of an 'untouchable' can convey pollution, and the effective range of his impurity is laid down in an exact number of feet, which may be as many as

[1] For further information see G R Dampier, *Monograph on the Brass and Copper Industry of the U P* (1894)

sixty-four but it is of sufficient importance to require detailed description

In 1901 Sir Richard Burn after local enquiries in all districts drew up a scheme of social precedence, which included a list of untouchable castes [1] At first sight the list is incomprehensible it is impossible to guess why some castes should be included it is also impossible to understand on the assumption that the inclusion of some castes is correct, why others of similar occupations habits, and status should be omitted But as the result of enquiries that I have recently made, it has become possible to reduce apparent chaos to something like order The information thus collected may be summarized thus

(a) It is a mistake to suppose that all Hindus of respectable social position or even all twice born Hindus have the same standard of touchability The Brahman s standard has always been higher than that of others, and castes may be touchable to a Rajput or Vaisya that are untouchable to a Brahman

(b) The superstition is far less strong than it was when Sir Richard Burn wrote Fifteen years ago any Hindu of good caste that came in contact with an untouchable, would have taken steps to remove the pollution at the earliest possible moment Today few trouble about the matter at all except Brahmans and even they are relatively lax A Brahman working in the field with some untouchable labourer will be quite indifferent whether he touches him or not for the bath that he will take in any case on his return home, will remove any impurity that may have been caused by chance contact

(c) The castes whom the Brahman would regard as untouchable may be classified in groups as follows

(1) Those that have an unclean occupation [2] or are offshoots of such castes, whether their own occupation is unclean or not

[1] Groups XI and XII of his scheme: see *Census Report U.P* 1901 p. 252

[2] For this information, I am indebted to a Brahman friend, a Government officer and landlord.

16. *Pollution among lower castes*

Some castes that are themselves low are especially strict in keeping untouchables at a distance I have examined the taboos of twenty five such castes the principal results are given in the following table

Caste name	*Regard as untouchable the*				
	Bhangi	*Chamar*	*Dharkar*	*Dhobi*	*Dom*
Agariya					1
Audhiya	1	1			
Baheliya	1			1	1
Bajgi	1	1			1
Bansphor				1	1
Basor	1	1	1	1	1
Bhangi	1			1	1
Bhar	1		1	1	1
Bhot	1	1		1	
Bhuiya		1	1	1	1
Bhuiyar		1	1	1	1
Bind		1	1		1
Byar	1	1	1		1
Chamar		1		1	1
Dangi	1	1			
Dharkar		1	1	1	1
Dom				1	1
Dusadh		1	1		1
Gharuk	1	1			
Ghasiya				1	
Golapurab	1	1		1	
Khangar	1	1		1	
Kharwar		1	1		1
Khatik		1	1	1	1
Majhwar		1	1	1	1

Eleven castes will not touch a Bhangi seventeen will not touch a Chamar ten will not touch a Dharkar sixteen wil not touch a Dhobi or a Dom These are the untouchables *par excellence* though one or more of the twenty five castes also regard the Basor Bhuiya, Ghasiya Kori Musahar Pasi and Patari as untouchable The most particular in this respect are the Basor, Bhar Bhuiya Bhuiyar Byar Khatik and Majhwar most of

them, however, are not quite so low as the other castes in this list, whilst the Basor has all the intolerance of the parvenu This caste is a branch of the Dom tribe, that has settled down to relative respectability, and now will have nothing to do not only with the Dom and Dharkar,[1] its close relations, the Bhangi and Dhobi which not long ago were its equals, but extends its objection to the Musahar, which always was, and still is, a respectable though somewhat primitive caste

Of the five chief untouchables, the Dom is scarcely Hinduized at all, and the Dharkar but little more so, and the occupations of the Bhangi, Chamar and Dhobi put them outside the pale. The Bhangi is a scavenger, the Chamar deals in dead cattle, whilst the Dhobi handles dirty clothes and that ill-omened beast, the donkey

Principal authorities —Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh* (1896)
Census Report, U P, 1901 and 1911
Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*

[1] The Dharkar is also an offshoot of the Dom tribe

CHAPTER VI

THE SYSTEM OF CASTE GOVERNMENT

1 *Caste government*

In every caste there is some authority charged with the duty of compelling obedience to customary laws Among the twice-born — Brahmans Rajputs, and Vaisyas—that authority is often nothing more concrete than public opinion But most castes possess a regular system of government of which the ruling body is a council or assembly known as a *panchayat* The powers of this body vary both in nature and extent In all castes it has some measure of judicial power and investigates and punishes offences against custom in many it is also a licensing authority authorizing acts or omissions which by custom require such sanction

2 *The caste council*

It is possible to make certain general statements that are true of all *panchayats*

(*a*) The group which a *panchayat* rules is not the caste as such but the endogamous group whether it be caste or subcaste Just as a man may eat food prepared by another if he can marry that other s daughter so too he may meet him in council And the *panchayat* of one endogamous group is completely independent of the *panchayats* of other similar groups within the same caste If two or more *panchayats* meet to consider matters of mutual interest they meet as independent and equal powers, which are not necessarily friends, let alone allies [2] The council of the caste as such is the *sabha* which is discussed in a later paragraph

[1] There are only two exceptions the Nai (see par 6), where the *panchayat* is a caste one; and the Rajput, where the unit is the exogamous group (see par 17).

[2] Occasionally *panchayats* of two groups in different castes meet in the same way See *Census Report U P.*, 1911 p. 333 note 1

(*b*) But decentralization goes further still There is not one *panchayat* only to each endogamous group, but one *panchayat* to each independent local section of that group In other words, the *panchayat* is not of the *zat*, but of the *biradari*[1] The local boundaries of the jurisdiction of each such *panchayat* are clearly demarcated sometimes it covers part of a village or town, sometimes a whole village or town, occasionally a group of villages These jurisdictions are called by various names—*ilaqa*, *juwar* (estate), *tat*, *chatai* (mat—from the tribal mat used at meetings of the brotherhood), *ghol* (circle or group), are some of the commonest The *panchayats* of the brotherhoods within the same endogamous group are independent of each other, but as a rule they respect each other's decrees whilst in some castes it is customary to hold regular conferences, at which several *panchayats* of the same endogamous group meet to discuss questions of mutual interest

(*c*) The word *panchayat* means 'quintette'—a group of five persons But it is safe to say that no *panchayat* ever consists of so small a number Generally, every adult male in a *biradari* has a right to speak and vote less frequently, the *panchayat* consists of representatives, selected on one basis or another, but always in greater numbers than five On the other hand, there is in most *panchayats* a committee which guides its deliberations—a sort of cabinet in this House of Commons—and this committee always consists of a small number of members, which number is, more often than not, five. And it is in the constitution of this committee that *panchayats* chiefly differ

3 The two principal types of panchayat

Though caste *panchayats* exhibit endless minor variations, it is possible to distinguish two main types The first or 'permanent' type is a *panchayat* which possesses one or more permanent officers, whose duty it is to bring offences to its notice, and who have power to convene it whenever necessary These officers are always members of that committee, mentioned

[1] See appendix to Chapter I

above which guides the *panchayat's* deliberations The second or impermanent *panchayat* is one that possesses no such officers, nor any committee save such as may be appointed for the duration of any particular session How important the difference is will appear from the discussion that follows

4 Caste with permanent panchayats

Castes with permanent *panchayats* fall into four classes (i) Those connected with a single well-defined occupation, traditional or acquired namely the Agariya Aheriya Ahir [1] Baghban, Baheliya Balahar Banjara Bansphor, Barai Barhai, Bari, Beldar Bhangi Chai Chamar Chhipi Daknut, Dhobi Dhuniya [2] Gadariya Gidhiya Halwai [2] Kalwar Kanmail Kayastha-Mochi Kewat Khapariya, Kori Kumhar Kutmali Lohar Luniya [1] Mali Mochi [1] Nai Phansiya Singhariya Sonar [1] Tamboli, Teli and Thathera with the Muhammadan castes Bhishti Churihar, Dafali Darzi Dhuniya Ghogar Ghosi Julaha Khumra Kunjra Manihar Mirasi Nanbai Niyariya Qalandar, Qassab, and Tawaif

(ii) Functional castes connected either with trade generally or with several allied occupations namely the Agrahri Kahar Kandu Kasarwani Khatik, Maheshri Oswal and Rauniyar

(iii) Non-functional castes of respectable position namely the Baiswar Bhoksa Bishnoi Gorchha, Goriya, Gujar Jat [1] Kachhi Khagi Khagi Chauhan Kirar Koiri Mina Murao Saini and Tharu

(iv) Non-functional castes of low position namely the Bhar Bhotiya Bhuiyar Bind Byar, Dangi Dhangar Dharkar, Dhimar Dom Dusadh Ghasiya, Kanjar Kharwar Kol Korwa Majhwar, Musahar Nat,[2] Parahiya and Pasi

This list consists of 104 castes Of these 66 are functional and 22 of low position which is sufficient to show that the permanent council is a characteristic of functional

[1] In some places only
[2] These castes have Muhammadan branches, which also possess permanent councils.

and low castes The most striking omissions are certain Vaisya trading castes such as the Agarwala and Umar the most curious inclusion is the Bishnoi, a sectarian caste

5 *The permanent element in the council*

In most brotherhoods, there is a headman who is a permanent official sometimes the office is hereditary, sometimes elective, and if so, generally for life He is *ex officio* also president of the council The generic term is *sarpanch* but he is known in various castes by many titles—*chaudhri, padhan, mahto, jamadar, takht, muqaddam, badshah, mehtar, mahati, saqui,* etc There are also in many castes other permanent functionaries, either hereditary, or elected or nominated for life, their duties vary from vice-president to orderly Some of their names are *naib-sarpanch, munsif, darogha, diwan, mukhtar, chobdar, charidar, dhari, sipahi, piada* Other castes have several hereditary or elected assessors, for whom the generic term is *panch* Sometimes the entire assembly is quasi-permanent, consisting of the heads of families Actual instances will best show the variations that occur

6 *Instances of permanent councils*

(i) *Ahir* In Hardoi and Partabgarh, there is a permanent committee of a *sarpanch* and four *panches,* all hereditary In Gorakhpur, the *sarpanch* alone is hereditary the other *panches* are selected, one from each family, when required In Jhansi and Fyzabad, the council is impermanent

(ii) *Baghban* The committee consists of three or more hereditary members The president is known sometimes as *sarpanch,* when the other members are termed *padhans*; sometimes as *padhan,* when the others are termed *diwans*

(iii) *Banjara* The headman, known as *naik,* is hereditary, and in most subcastes his is the only hereditary office Amongst the Badi Banjaras, the whole committee is hereditary

(iv) *Banmanus* The headman (*chaudhri*) is hereditary This is a subcaste of the Musahar caste

(v) *Bari* The headman (*chaudhri*) is hereditary The other *panches* are selected as required

(vi) *Beldar* In Gorakhpur the headman (*chaudhri*) is elected for life, but there is a tendency to make the office hereditary by electing whenever possible the son of the last headman There is also a summoner (*dhari*) All the brethren are members of the assembly but to form a quorum not less than five of their exogamous groups (*kuris*) must be represented

(vii) *Bhoksa* The council is composed of the headmen of the villages (*chhota bhaiya* or little brother) the president is called *takht* (throne) whilst he has a *munsif* (vice president) and *darogha* (investigating officer) All these posts are hereditary A system of proxies is recognized

(viii) *Bishnoi* This sectarian caste has two councils of different kinds One deals with religious cases and is known as *jumala* It meets once a month either at some temple or at the house of a priest (*sadh*) the priest and some elders preside at the meeting, at which the *hom* rite is always carried out Once a year, in the month of Chait the Bishnois of several districts meet in a large joint *jumala* at Lodhipur in Moradābad The other council which deals with social offences, is found in such subcastes as possessed them before their members joined the sect (Jat, Khagi-Chauhan Nai Byar are some of them) These subcaste *panchayats* are permanent The decisions of the religious and social authorities are binding on each other

(ix) *Dakaut* In Bijnor the *panchayat* only assembles if there are at least ten items on the agenda The headman (*chaudhri*) is elected and is assisted by a *patwari rai* and *padhan* their precise functions are unknown to me Five towns or villages have a right to permanent representatives, namely Jhalu (three representatives) Nagina Seohara Nandawar and Nehtaur (two each) These are selected and hold office for life The committee therefore consists of nine persons In addition about five hundred brethren are usually present

(x) *Dhuniya* Each brotherhood has a hereditary

chaudhri, whose jurisdiction extends over tracts known as *ilaqa*, *baisi*, or *juwar*

(xi) *Ghogar* In Moradabad, every village possesses a hereditary assessor (*panch*), who decides cases in the first instance. There is an appeal to a committee of such *panches*

(xii) *Gidhiya* Each subcaste in Moradabad has a permanent committee of two or three hereditary members under a headman (*padhan*), who is to pay Rs 5 on his accession to office for the purchase of sweetmeats

(xiii) *Gujar* There is a permanent committee of four or five members in every village with a headman (*sarpanch*) all are hereditary For the trial of grave offences the *panchayats* of several villages meet together, under a headman, who is also permanent and hereditary

(xiv) *Jat* One brotherhood, which resides in a group of thirty-two villages in the Muzaffarnagar district, has a permanent *panchayat* The post of headman (*raja*) belongs to the head of a family in Bhainswal, the post of vice-president (*diwan*) to the head of a family in Oun, while the heads of three families that live respectively in Pindaura, Salawar, and Malahandi must always be present for the *panchayat* to be complete. This is an exceptional case, for all other Jat *panchayats* are impermanent

(xv) *Kahar* There is a permanent committee consisting of headman (*sarpanch*), vice-president (*naib-sarpanch*), summoner (*chobdar*), and four members

(xvi) *Kayastha-Mochi* In Cawnpore city, there is the usual type of permanent *panchayat*, though it is actually called a *sabha* In southern Cawnpore, there is a permanent headman, called *sarmaur* (crowned head), who resides in Charkhari state, but the *panchayat* meets only once a year

(xvii) *Kewat* The council is permanent, and consists of the heads of families under a hereditary *sarpanch*

(xviii) *Khagi-Chauhan* The committee consists of four members and a headman (*sarpanch*), all hereditary.

(xix) *Khatik* In Aligarh, the headman (*chaudhri*) is hereditary his assessors (of whom there are four or

five) are chosen for the occasion but there is a tendency always to select the same men and their sons after their death In Gorakhpur the Sonkhar subcaste has a headman (*chaudhri*) and six or seven *panches* all hereditary the Poldar subcaste has a *chaudhri* and *padhan* (vice president) both hereditary the Saqba subcaste has only a *chaudhri* elected for a single year at Dasehra In Bulandshahr every village has an officer known as *muqaddam* who decides minor cases, with a hereditary *chaudhri* and two *diwans* (vice presidents) to every hundred villages or so

(xx) *Khumra* Each village has a *chaudhri* of its own the assembly consists of all *chaudhris* some of whom form the permanent committee of the council In Bijnor the committee consists of the *chaudhris* of Nagina (*badshah*) who is headman of Jamdaspur (*wazir*) Taj pur and Sherkot (*munsifs*) These two *munsifs* are elected all other officers in the caste are hereditary

(xxi) *Kutamali* In Moradabad each separate village or quarter in a town has a *padhan* and *chakrayat* the latter acts as substitute for the former during his minority These officials decide all trivial cases The council consists of these officials (twenty-two of each) with two headmen (*sardar*) All are hereditary

(xxii) *Lal Begi Bhangi* In Benares the organization of the Lal Begis system of government is modelled on the city and cantonment in which they are employed There are seven administrative units or companies (*bera*) known as (1) *kali paltan* which serves the Indian infantry (2) *lalkurti* or redcoats, who serve the British infantry (3) *genereli* which dates back to the time when Benares possessed a divisional general and his head quarters staff (4 7) *sadr kothiwal, shahr* and *teshan* who are employed respectively in cantonments civil station city and railway settlement Each company has four officers (*sardar*) and a messenger (*piyada*) the titles of the officers are *jamadar* (headman) *munsif* (spokesman) *chaudhri* (treasurer) and *naib* (summoner) In supreme command is the brigadier He and the company officers are elected though there is a tendency to

observe the principle of heredity the messenger is selected

(xxiii) *Lohar* There is a hereditary committee, with a *chaudhri* but he is merely the summoner, and the president is selected for each meeting

(xxiv) *Nai* In Muzaffarnagar, there is a single *panchayat* for the whole caste. In Pilibhit, there are subcaste *panchayats* as well as the caste *panchayat* In Bulandshahr, every village has a *chaudhri* or headman There is also a *chaudhri* for each tahsil, and a head *chaudhri* for the whole caste, who lives at Delhi

(xxv) *Nanbai* This occupational group (it is not yet a caste) is ruled by a single headman (*sarpanch*) The Nanbai is a baker

(xxvi) *Tawaif* The Tawaif are dancing-girls, they have a *panchayat* of women The headwoman (*chaudhrain*) is elected for life, but must have been born within the jurisdiction of the *panchayat* Other members are selected when required

(xxvii) *Teli* There is a permanent and hereditary committee of five, from whom the headman (*chaudhri*) is selected for each meeting

(xxviii) *Tharu* The village headman is headman (*sarpanch*) of the brotherhood in his own village But there is also a hereditary headman for the whole caste (which has no endogamous subdivisions), who is known as *barbag* (great tiger) The post has been inherited in one family from time immemorial, and there is an old copper plate which is the headman's badge of office

(xxix) *Thathera* There are a number of hereditary headmen (*chaudhris*), as a rule there is one *chaudhri* to each village, but if the local jurisdiction covers more than one village, he can appoint assistants, known by the name of *mukhiya*,[1] whose duties are those of informers A *chaudhri* may also appoint an orderly (*sipahi*)

[1] *Mukhiya* is also the term for the 'village headman' appointed by Government, who has certain duties under the criminal law

7 Qualificatio s methods and remonial f ppointment

When a post is hereditary, the eldest son always succeeds, provided that he is of sound mind and good conduct If there is no son or the eldest son is unfit, the office goes either to the next heir or to some selected member of the same family A minor till he is of age is almost invariably represented by some elder relative though some castes cause the minor to announce a decision taken in his name When an office is elective or selective, the choice is made from among the persons best fitted by age or experience to hold it subject to any other condition of tenure that may be observed (e g that every family should be represent ed) but there is a tendency to follow the principle of heredity if possible (as amongst the Khatiks and Lal Begi Bhangis) Every post is held subject to mental fitness and good behaviour There is little information regarding the ceremonial of succession The emblem of office in the case of a headman (and often of other officers too) is a turban which is tied on the new officer s head in due form at a feast of the brethren In fact to wear the turban is synonymous with to be a head man Sometimes the officer pays for his own turban sometimes it is presented to him it is not an expensive crown

Panchayats meet in three different ways:

8 Meeti g f a permanent pa hayat

(i) *At a feast of the brotherhood* Any person who has a complaint to make, takes advantage of the presence of the brethren to put it forward whereupon the assembly ceases from conviviality and turns to business Controversial questions are seldom raised at a marriage feast lest the harmony of[1] the proceedings be disturbed but funeral gatherings often resolve themselves into courts of enquiry

(ii) *On a special summons* which the headman issues either of his own motion or at the desire of an interested

[1] And, doubtless, also of the good temper which befits a convivial gathering.

party The meeting is convened through the official summoner if there is one, if not, the Nai barber, who works for the caste, acts as such

(iii) *On fixed occasions*, usually a fair or religious festival, at which brethren are likely to attend in large numbers Such meetings are sometimes monster *panchayats*, at which several brotherhoods assemble to discuss matters of general interest, such as the prohibition of liquor, the curtailment of marriage expenses, or the abandonment of such a custom as widow marriage

9 Procedure of a permanent panchayat

The procedure closely follows that of a court of law The charge is made the culprit is called on to plead guilty or not guilty A plea of guilty is followed by immediate sentence a plea of not guilty is followed by the hearing of evidence, discussion, voting, and a verdict and sentence All evidence is oral every brother who is present has the right to speak and vote. Every brother uses his private knowledge to guide him to a decision in fact, judge and jury are all potential witnesses Some castes require a unanimous verdict, others are satisfied with the decision of a majority generally, the permanent officials must be unanimous, and agree with the majority of the brethren present The permanent officials decide the verdict and sentence, which is announced by the headman The sentence takes various forms but if it is not, or cannot be, carried out at once, the offender is outcasted till it is carried out And if he refuses to submit to his sentence, he is outcasted till he does

10 Curiosities of procedure

Though the procedure of the *panchayat* is generally the same in all castes, so far as essentials are concerned, there are often minor peculiarities

(i) *Agrahri* If the council cannot arrive at a unanimous decision, the meeting is adjourned

(ii) *Bhotiya* A correspondent informed me that amongst the Bhotiyas of Kumaun, the debate is 'a babel of uproarious questions and answers' If a decision seems remote, from discussion the council turns to 'Socratic

questionings—presumably, attempts to extract admissions And if the Socratic method fails, the council has recourse to magic A fetish called *Bharto* which consists of a white stone tied round with a black woollen thread is produced for with his right hand on this, no man dare tell a lie

(iii) *Dom* The *chaudhri s* opinion prevails in the absence of unanimity

(iv) *Ghosi* In addition to other officers, this caste has an executioner who is responsible for seeing that the sentence is carried out

(v) *Kewat* The offender is compelled to stand on one leg whilst undergoing examination—a position which must discourage verbosity

(vi) *Lal Begi Bhangi* The procedure is complicated The brethren sit in three lines In the first, from right to left, sit the brigadier and the company officers [1] In the second and third lines are the private members Each party is in charge of the *piyada* of his company The company spokesmen (*munsifs*) act as counsel and examine the parties and their witnesses After evidence has been taken the privates vote then the three subalterns of each company (*munsif chaudhri* and *naib*) consult and when they are unanimous submit their opinion through the *munsif* to their company commander (*jamadar*) The company *jamadars* then confer and when they are unanimous report their decision to the brigadier who if he accepts it announces it to the meeting A private may only vote, or rise to a point of order if he does this, he must act with due respect

(vii) *Nat* In Bulandshahr, when a brother wishes to draw the attention of the council to an offence and the offender is himself present he cries *bal makkhi dekh kar khana*—look for hair and flies (in your food) before you eat This is the signal for an enquiry

(viii) In Garhwal there was, till quite recent times, an official called *dharmadhikari* whose post was recognized by Government He was a Brahman charged with the

[1] Cf par 6 (xxii) above.

duty of purifying outcastes. The custom of official recognition has lapsed, but outcastes still occasionally petition the district authorities to send them to the *dharmadhikari*.

11. Scope of a panchayat's jurisdiction.

Reports received at the census of 1911 showed that the offences triable by *panchayats* varied from caste to caste. But when a report stated that the *panchayat* of a particular caste did not deal with a particular offence, it was not always possible to decide whether this meant that the *panchayat* could not do so, or merely that it had never had occasion to do so. The information was not derived from a written code, but from the oral evidence of members of the caste; and if no instance of the trial of a particular offence had occurred within the informant's memory, he might reasonably assert that such offences were not triable by the *panchayat*. By comparison, however, of the offences triable by different *panchayats*, it is possible to frame a specimen list, as follows:

(i) Breaches of the commensal law, and of restrictions on eating, drinking, and smoking.

(ii) Breaches of the marriage law.

(*a*) Seduction of a wife, or adultery.
(*b*) Immorality or concubinage.
(*c*) Refusal to carry out a marriage after agreement (breach of promise of marriage).
(*d*) Refusal to carry out the *gauna* ceremony, i.e. to send a wife to her husband at the proper age.
(*e*) Refusal to maintain a wife (restitution of conjugal rights).
(*f*) Marrying a widow without permission (when permission is necessary).

(iii) Breaches of caste custom in the matter of feasts.

(iv) Breaches of the trade custom of the caste.

(v) Killing of certain animals—the cow, sometimes the dog or cat.

(vi) Insulting a Brahman

(vii) Criminal or civil cases that might have come before the regular courts, such as assault or debt

(viii) Retrial of criminal cases decided by the regular courts

The following general principles can be laid down with respect to this list of offences

(1) Any Hindu caste council would deal with offences falling under classes (i) (ii) (*a*) to (*e*) (iii), (v) and (vi) Only certain Hindu castes deal with offences falling under class (ii) (*f*)

(2) The trial of offences in class (iv) is much less common than it used to be the subject is examined in another chapter

(3) Very few castes deal with cases falling in classes (vii) and (viii) The Gidhiya, Ghogar Kanjar Nat, and Phansiya in the district of Moradabad are said to submit cases of assault and debt to their councils but this is probably uncommon Except in such cases as adultery or assault on a wife or a Brahman the *panchayats* seldom encroach on the jurisdiction of the magistrate and if other complaints were brought to them they would generally refer the parties to the courts And indeed the Indian loves a lawsuit the discussion of its various aspects and the intrigues incidental to it afford congenial intellectual exercise and also an adequate excuse for visiting *the court-town* Few complainants would willingly exchange the fierce light that beats on even a third class magistrate s court room for the dimness that surrounds the tribal mat [1] Little information is available regarding the retrial of criminal offenders, but undoubtedly such cases do occur though perhaps the *panchayat* among castes that are inclined to crime is concerned, less with the offence itself than with the offender s clumsiness in being detected

(4) To a Muhammadan *panchayat* some of the cases mentioned [e.g those falling in classes (v) and (vi)] would not be offences at all others would come under

[1] The *panchayat* is usually seated on a piece of matting (*tat* or *chatai*).

their ordinary law. They would, however, deal with some breaches of the marriage law and with trade disputes

12 *Forms of punishment*

The most common punishments are fines, feasts to the brotherhood or to Brahmans, and out-casting temporary or permanent for some kinds of offence, pilgrimages, begging, and various forms of degradation are imposed Corporal punishment, though frequent at one time, is now unusual Amongst the Lal Begi Bhangis, for instance, an unfaithful wife was formerly tied to a tree and flogged with a broom whilst the ceremony of outcasting consisted in laying the offender on his face, removing his turban, pulling the edge of the tribal mat over his head and beating him with shoe or broom The results were sometimes fatal, and most castes have thought it advisable to abandon such practices. But, as the details given in the next paragraph prove, the councils are ingenious in devising punishments suitable to the crime

A fine is usually spent on sweetmeats for the assembled brotherhood, of which the *chaudhri* gets a double share But if the fine is large, it usually goes to a fund, which is expended on such public objects as the recitation of a *katha*, the feeding of Brahmans, or the purchase of vessels for the use of the community

13 *Some actual trials and other miscellaneous information*

The information in this paragraph all comes from reports received at the census of 1911

(i) *Ahir* In Fyzabad, the council delivers a verdict in cases of cow-killing, but does not pass sentence The offender is sent to a Goshain, who considers the evidence afresh If he agrees with the council's verdict, he passes sentence—usually a course of begging for two or three months

(ii) *Baghban* The tariff of punishments is as follows

(*a*) Adultery, intratribal,—

(1) by woman,—fine,

(2) by man—fine and restoration of woman or in the alternative payment of the bride price

(b) Adultery extratribal—

(1) if the other party is of a higher caste—fine

(2) if the other party is of a lower caste,—excommunication

(c) Breaches of the commensal law,—fine and a bath in the Ganges

(d) Cow killing—begging alms with the cow's tail tied to a staff sleeping at a Kumhar's furnace[1] a bath in the Ganges a feast both to the brotherhood and to Brahmans

(e) Killing a dog or cat—fine a bath in the Ganges and a feast to Brahmans

(iii) *Banjara* The Gaur Banjaras in Bijnor in serious cases, force the offender to give a girl of his family in marriage to the family of the complainant This may be merely a quaint form of compensation or it may be meant as a degradation, since by the law of hypergamy the girl comes from the inferior family At all events, it is unfortunate for the girl since she becomes her family's scapegoat

(iv) *Beldar* In Gorakhpur a possible punishment is five kicks Presumably it is awarded for minor offences

(v) *Bhangi* In Cawnpore a man was found guilty of abducting a married girl who had not yet gone to her husband This was a most serious offence as a punishment the hair of half his head of one eyebrow one side of his moustache and half his beard were shaved his face was painted black, and he was excommunicated

(vi) *Chamar*

(a) In Ghazipur a *chaudhri* was outcasted for twelve years for showing partiality for his brother—which seems a venial offence

[1] Kumhar furnace is reckoned most unclean.

A council of several *panchayats* interfered and reduced the penalty to a fine

(*b*) In the same district, a Chamar disgraced the caste by begging, and was outcasted Subsequently he settled down to regular labour and after his death, his son was reinstated on paying a fine of Rs 4 and feeding five Brahmans

(*c*) Some Chamars were convicted of cattle-poisoning in a court of law After release, they were outcasted for twelve years an offer to pay a fine of Rs 500 in lieu was rejected

(vii) *Darzi* In Etah, a family adopted the *dharauna*[1] form of marriage contrary to the custom The caste informally outcasted them On the suit of the offenders, a caste council assembled which sentenced them to pay a fine of Rs 200 and to feast the brethren

(viii) *Dhimar*. In Muzaffarnagar, a man was guilty of a serious breach of the restrictions connected with prohibited kin the other party was his sister's daughter He was hung by the hands to a tree, fined Rs 100, had to feast the brotherhood, and was outcasted for twelve years

(ix) *Dhobi* In Cawnpore, a regimental Dhobi was accused of having a Bhangi woman as his mistress. He offered to stand or fall by the evidence of a clerk, whose story went against him, and he was outcasted till he had feasted the brotherhood The introduction of a witness of another caste is most unusual

(x) *Dom* In Almora, the killer of a cow, during his pilgrimage, has to display the fatal implement to all passers-by The pilgrimage lasts from three to six months, during which he must visit three shrines

(xi) *Gadariya* A wife complained that her husband had refused to readmit her to his house after she had been on a visit to her own relations The husband's plea

[1] The precise nature of the offence is not clear *Dharauna* is one of the maimed marriage rites, suitable for widows Presumably the substitution was of one kind of maimed rite for another

was that she was ugly The brethren excessively annoyed pointed out to him that his own looks left much to be desired gave him some trite information on the evanescence of physical charms and ordered him to take his wife back on pain of excommunication An unusual incident in this curious case was the presence of some government orderlies as unofficial advisers to the council

(xii) *Gidhiya* The Gidhiya s tariff of punishment is as follows

(*a*) Adultery, intratribal —a fine of Rs 5 ı
(*b*) Adultery, extratribal —
(1) by a woman —excommunication
(2) by a man (i) if the woman is of a higher Hindu caste —a fine of Rs 5
(ii) if she is of a lower Hindu caste, or not a Hindu —excommunication
(*c*) Cow-killing —a course of begging a bath in the Ganges, and a feast to the brotherhood
(*d*) Breach of the commensal law —a bath in the Ganges and a feast to the brotherhood
(*e*) Breach of promise of marriage —a fine of Rs 2½ to Rs 5
(*f*) Assault and debt —a fine of Re 1 or Rs 2

(xiii) *Julaha* In Sitapur an adulterer was tied to a tree with an earthen pot on his head

(xiv) *Kachhi*

(*a*) In Hardoi a widow had an intrigue with a Lohar She was informally outcasted Her relations persuaded her to give him up and summoned a *panchayat* after collecting Rs 25 to pay the fine The case was at this stage when it was reported but my informant was told by one of the members of the council that the penalty would probably be a fine of Rs 30 and the feeding of fifty brethren

(*b*) A widower had a Chamarin mistress The council ordered him to pay a fine of Rs 100 and to turn her out He refused to do either He was accordingly outcasted and though she is dead, neither he, nor two sons he had by her, will ever be readmitted

(xv) *Kanjar* The cow-killer, in addition to more usual penalties, has to give a calf to a Brahman There is an ordeal by fire in cases of doubt Seven *pipal* and seven betel leaves are bound on the accused's palm with seven turns of a thread, and he has to walk seven paces with a redhot spud in his hand If this hand is burnt, he is convicted

(xvi) *Kumhar*

(*a*) In Cawnpore, a man was suspected of an intrigue with another man's wife He was accordingly informally outcasted by the Kumhars of several villages A council met, which, on his suing for pardon from each individual member, fined him Rs 25, which was subsequently reduced to Rs 5, as he was unable to pay the larger sum [1]

(*b*) A *chaudhri* had an intrigue with a married woman of the same caste He was fined Rs 75 The husband died before the *panchayat* was held, or he too would have been fined [2]

(*c*) A man had a wife of bad reputation, whom he could not control This gave rise to scandal, he accordingly arranged a meeting of the *panchayat*, and explained his difficulties He was found technically

[1] The fine, compared with that in the next case, was small but here there was no proof, but only suspicion (the accused was seen leaving the house of the complainant at night)

[2] Presumably for not keeping his wife under better control Compare the next case

guilty and was ordered to feed five Brahmans

(xvii) *Kunjra* In Gonda some Muhammadan Kunjras, being dissatisfied with the decision of their *panchayat* appealed to a *sajjada nashin* in the neighbouring district of Barabanki and settled the matter according to his advice The case was curious since an external authority overrode the *panchayat s* order

(xviii) *Mali* In Barabanki a Mali woman who assaluted a Brahman family priest (*purohit*) was fined Rs 10 she did not pay and both she and her husband were outcasted

(xix) *Nat* The tariff of punishments is as follows

(*a*) Adultery —fine with restoration of the woman or payment of the bride price in the case of a man

(*b*) Cow killing —a course of begging for forty days, a bath in the Ganges and a feast to the brethren and to Brahmans

(*c*) Breaches of the commensal law —a fine of Rs 5 to Rs 10 a bath in the Ganges, and a feast to the brethren and to Brahmans

(*d*) Breaches of promise of marriage —payment of the other party s wedding expenses

(*e*) Killing dog cat or ass —fine of Rs 2 to Rs 4

(*f*) Assault —a fine of Re 1 to Rs 4

(xx) *Phansiya* The tariff of punishments is as follows

(*a*) Adultery intratribal —

(1) by woman —fine

(2) by man —fine with restoration of woman or payment of bride price

[1] A *sajjada-nashi* I the Muhammadan priest in charge of an endowed mosque The ppeal was from custom t religion, and so possible in a Muhammadan caste

(*b*) Adultery, extratribal,—permanent excommunication.

(*c*) Breaches of commensal law,—

(1) eating *kachcha* food or smoking with the member of some forbidden caste, —fine, and a bath in the Ganges

(2) drinking water with the member of a forbidden caste,—excommunication

(*d*) Drunkenness,—fine, and a bath in the Ganges

(*e*) Breaches of custom in respect of feasts,—fine, or temporary excommunication till the feast is provided

(xxi) *Singhariya* The tariff of punishments is as follows

(*a*) Adultery, intratribal and extratribal,—as amongst Phansiyas

(*b*) Cow-killing,—a course of begging alms, a pilgrimage, a bath in the Ganges, and a feast to the brethren and to Brahmans

(*c*) Breaches of the commensal law,—a pilgrimage, a bath in the Ganges, and a feast to the brethren and to Brahmans

(*d*) Breaches of custom in respect of feasts,—as amongst Phansiyas

(xxii) *Tharu* The fine for adultery is very high, from Rs 250 to Rs 500 the *panchayat* receives 10 per cent of the fine

(xxiii) *Thathera*

(*a*) In Azamgarh, for an abominable act of immorality,[1] a man was for three days immersed up to the neck in a cess-pit, sent on pilgrimage to Puri and Benares, and made to feast the brethren

(*b*) In the same district, a man who had a Muhammadan mistress escaped with a fine and the usual feast because he was able

[1] Which was, incidentally, punishable under the Penal Code

to prove that he had never eaten food in her house otherwise he would have been excommunicated This case shows the value attached respectively to commensal pollution and extratribal immorality[1]

(xxiv) *Miscellaneous*

(*a*) In some castes a culprit who is sentenced to a fine that he cannot pay, may, in lieu, place the shoes of the assembly on his head—presumably one pair of shoes at a time This alternative means grave degradation

(*b*) A cow killer when on pilgrimage is occasionally compelled to wear a sheet which covers him from head to foot with holes for the eyes, and to give warning of his approach by ringing a bell—treatment similar to that of the leper in mediaeval times[2] Sometimes he has to drive a cow before him which he holds by the tail

14 Impermanent panchayat

In an impermanent *panchayat* there is no official responsible for bringing offences to its notice and the only person likely to do so is the person offended But it is an expensive business to convene a *panchayat* since the convener must provide adequate entertainment And if he lays his suit before an assembly of the brotherhood that has met for some other purpose he is likely to become unpopular for he is not only interfering with another s arrangements, but (since such gatherings are usually of a festive kind) he also runs the risk of marring the harmony of its proceedings Consequently a complainant would rarely call a *panchayat*

[1] But thi I not uncommon. I have heard of a case where a gentleman of high caste and good position who had a mistress of another caste was not excommunicated *till* he had drunk water in her house.

[2] 1904, I myself met such a pilgrim in the streets of Rai Bareli. I tried to discover hi caste but he wa not locally known and he himself would say nothing but *hatya* (guilt).

together, unless the offence were serious But if it were, then he would seldom need to do so, since public opinion would come to his assistance The brotherhood, individually and collectively, would send the offender 'to Coventry', cease all intercourse with him, and, in fact, outcaste him without enquiry or formality The onus would then fall on the offender he, or his relatives for him, must convene the *panchayat* to establish his innocence, or obtain a mitigation of sentence And this he would not be likely to do unless he were hopeful of success The result is that impermanent *panchayats* very seldom meet, it was recorded in 1911, for instance, that in Banda, the *panchayat* of the Hindu branch of the Chamargaur Rajputs had only met once within the memory of the oldest brother, and that the *panchayats* of the Muhammadan Chamargaur and the Baghel Rajputs had not met for at least three generations In such circumstances, it is not surprising to find that little information is available regarding the procedure of impermanent *panchayats* when they do meet In most cases, a *sarpanch* is selected to preside, *pro hac vice* and the council then investigates the case and passes sentence, in much the same way as if it were permanent Nor is it possible to give a complete list of castes that possess impermanent *panchayats* Besides the two Rajput septs already mentioned, such *panchayats* exist among the Moradabad Chauhans, the Ghosis, Jats, Kurmis, Lodhas, Orhs, and Turks, and the Chandel and Kachhwaha Rajputs and, in some places, among the Kayastha-Mochis, Kumhars, Luniyas and Sonars But many of the 'twice born' groups—all Brahmans, most Rajputs and the highest Vaisyas (Agarwal, Bhat, Umar)—have no *panchayat* of any kind They rely solely on the force of public opinion the offender is informally ostracized in the manner already described, and remains so all his days, and his children after him Various castes owe their existence to such ostracism one instance is the Moradabad Chauhan group, which springs from the Chauhan Rajputs And smaller groups of outcastes are to be found scattered up and down the country

5 *Exceptional cases*

(i) The Chandel and Kachhwaha Rajputs in Cawnpore have a peculiar system of their own. The offender who has been informally excommunicated approaches a leading clansman and requests him to take up the case. He calls the brotherhood together, appoints assessors and makes an enquiry. As the leading clansman is usually the same person at all times in the same neighbourhood, there is a certain element of permanence in this system. On the other hand it differs from both the permanent and impermanent types of *pañchayat* in two ways. Firstly the leader will not move on his own or anybody else's initiative save the offender's; and secondly the *panchayat* can only pronounce one of two decisions—a complete acquittal or a confirmation of the informal ostracism.

(ii) Among the Moradabad Jats the village elders deal with minor offences, but if the offence is serious, the offender calls together the elders of several villages, from twenty-five to sixty in number. They select a committee of five to ten elders from amongst themselves to investigate the case, and a majority of the votes of this committee is decisive. There is no *sarpanch*. If the meeting takes place at a fair, the offender convenes it through the secretary of the local Jat *sabha*.

(iii) In Banda the Muhammadan Chamargaurs have a curious procedure of their own. The outcaste who desires to be reinstated prepares food on a day fixed by himself and assembles not only his own brethren but the Hindu Chamargaurs and some Brahmans. If they consider that he may be reinstated they signify their opinion by eating his food; but a single dissentient among the Muhammadans, and three or four amongst the Hindus would be enough to make his restoration impossible. Both the food ceremony and the presence of outsiders are unusual, and in fact this seems to be not so much a case of appeal to a *panchayat* as a request for an expression of respectable opinion.

[1] Or other causes to be prepared. N. Hindu would eat food prepared by a Muhammadan.

16 *Interference of outsiders*

As a rule, none but a member of the brotherhood may speak or vote regarding a decision of his *panchayat*, though occasionally, when there is any doubt, an expert is consulted regarding the punishment, especially for religious offences In Almora, for instance, there is a regular official called *dharmadhikari*[1] who fixes the punishment in all such cases, especially cases of cow-killing He is a Tiwari Brahman, elsewhere any *dharmashastra* Brahman (i e one who is learned in the law) would serve I know of only four instances of interference with the decision of a *panchayat*

(i) The revision, in cases of cow-killing, of the decision of the Ahir *panchayat* by a Goshain (Fyzabad)[2]

(ii) The reversion of a Kunjra decision by a *sajjadanashin*[3]

(iii) In Banda, the Brahman *purohit* (priest) is present at and advises the *panchayat* of the Baghel Rajputs But it has not met for three generations

(iv) In the Mahalodhi subcaste of the Lodha caste, the work of the *panchayat* is done entirely by the *guru*, or spiritual adviser

In some parts of India, ruling princes have power to interfere in the decisions of caste *panchayats* and the story goes that political agents have exercised that power in the raja's name I know of no such case in the United Provinces But two instances have been reported from Shahjahanpur of interference by rajas in caste matters In one case, two brotherhoods of the Dhobi caste were uncertain in which jurisdiction (*thok*) a particular village lay both *chaudhris* claimed the *chaudhri's* fee of Re 1¼ One of them defeated his opponent by obtaining a written order (*parwana*) from the raja in whose estate the village lay authorizing him to collect it[4] In the other case, an aspirant to the post of *chaudhri* of another Dhobi *panchayat* based his claim in a court of

[1] In Garhwal, the *dharmadhikari* purifies outcastes see par 10 (viii)

[2] See par 13 (i)

[3] See par 13 (xvii) and *note*

[4] He made little by this, for he had to pay Re 1 out of the fee to the raja

law on the fact that his grandfather had been appointed *chaudhri* by the raja of the time [1]

It has been explained above[2] that the group ruled by any particular *panchayat* is a *biradari* or local section of an endogamous group But most brotherhoods of this kind are actually exogamous groups, in the sense that their members are (as the name implies) too closely related to intermarry It becomes necessary, therefore, to explain the connexion between the *panchayat* and the exogamous group as such This can best be done by reference to a particular case In Cawnpore the Dhanuk caste has five sections, named (i) Laungbarsa, (ii) Badhik (iii) Kathariya (iv) Hazari (v) Taihal

i Panchayats and exogamous group

(*a*) In East Cawnpore all five groups are endogamous, and there are five *panchayats*

(*b*) In South Cawnpore groups (i) and (ii) intermarry, the other three are endogamous There are here four endogamous groups, namely Laungbarsa Badhik Kathariya Hazari Taihal and four *panchayats* to correspond

(*c*) In North West Cawnpore groups (i) (ii) and (iii) intermarry the other two are endogamous There are here three endogamous groups and three *panchayats*

(*d*) In North East Cawnpore groups (i) (ii) (iii) and (iv) intermarry group (v) is endogamous There are here two endogamous groups and two *panchayats* This makes it clear that the *panchayat* is that of the *local endogamous group* Accordingly if a Taihal migrated from his home in South Cawnpore to a village in East Cawnpore, he could and would become a member of the local *biradari* whether he belonged to the same exogamous group or not for the Taihal group is endogamous everywhere But it would be different if a Laungbarsa made the same change For the southern endogamous group consists of Laungbarsas only whilst the eastern includes both Laungbarsas and Badhiks and if he became a member of the eastern *biradari* he would have to eat with and meet in *panchayat* Badhiks whose daughters

[1] The rajas in the two cases were different.
[2] Par ( ) and (*b*).

he could not marry. In short, though a *biradari* is in fact usually composed of persons who cannot intermarry, yet their membership depends not on that fact, but on the fact that they all belong to an endogamous group, coupled, of course, with the residential qualification

To this there is one real and one doubtful exception The real exception is the Rajput clan, which is always exogamous, yet if it has a *panchayat* at all, has one of its own But these clans are derived from the most diverse racial elements, they are entities so entirely independent that, prima facie, one would expect them to be endogamous, and the exception is more apparent than real[1] The doubtful exception is that of the Muhammadan Qalandars, the Calender of the Arabian Nights, a caste of bear and monkey showmen It is divided into three exogamous sections, named Khokhar, Ghorawal, and Chindi The Chindis have been outcasted by the other two groups, because they admitted to their community a Khokhar who betrayed to them the secret of certain Khokhar charms (*jadu*) None the less the three groups still meet in a common *panchayat*, of which the headman is actually a Chindi These can scarcely be true exogamous groups, since membership of such a group obviously depends on birth alone, and such an affiliation as that of a Khokhar to the Chindis is impossible. But, apart from this, the excommunication in all probability extended only to the particular Chindis concerned in the offence, and not to the entire group, so that whilst the outcaste Chindis would form a new endogamous group, the rest would still remain in communion with Khokhars and Ghorawals

[1] The usual explanation is that clan exogamy is due to the shortage of women, which makes endogamy impossible But this shortage of Rajput women is usually regarded as due to female infanticide, itself consequent on hypergamy, which is only a form of exogamy Possibly, since most, if not all, Rajput clans have ruled kingdoms in their time, their royalty was held to surpass racial differences whilst matrimonial alliances between rival kings, either as a result of conquest or to secure peace, were as common in ancient India as they were in other countries

A *sabha* is merely an association of persons united by some bond of common interest To mention only one instance the Mazdur *sabha* of Cawnpore is an association of labourers

18 Caste sabhas

But there are a number of caste *sabhas* which are essentially a modern product They differ from *panchayats* in that they always have a much larger scope and that they handle, not the cases of individuals, but questions of general interest A few examples will serve to show the nature of their activities

(i) The Gaur Brahman Mahasabha deals with the affairs of the Gaur Brahmans, an important and widespread endogamous group It is a registered body consisting of a hundred delegates elected for a year under a president selected by the delegates, also for a year Its jurisdiction extends nominally to the whole of India but it has little influence where there are no local Gaur sabhas It meets yearly its objects are the reduction of expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies, the teaching of true religious principles the observance of religious rites and the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit

(ii) The Dan Tyagi Brahmana Prautia Sabha is the *sabha* of the Taga caste its objects are the diffusion of knowledge and education and possibly the assertion of that claim to Brahmanical origin which the name indicates [1]

(iii) The Vaisya Mahasabha is the executive committee of the Vaisya conference Its objects are the spread of education social reform and the reduction of expenditure at marriages and other festivals There are local *sabhas* in large cities whose duties are to give effect to the resolutions passed by the conference This Mahasabha has done excellent work in many directions —notably in advocating the raising of the age of marriage

[1] The Tag claims to be Brahman group that has taken to mundane pursuits (cultivation and landowning) and so refuses priestly dues (*dan tyagi*).

Other powerful bodies are the various Jat and Kayastha *sabhas* They are in no sense *panchayats*, but to a great extent they supplement their work, and they can be, and usually are, a great power for good [1]

[1] I am indebted to officers of the *sabhas* mentioned for these details

Principal authorities —*Census Report, U P*, 1911 (when a special enquiry into the system of caste government was made)
Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh* (1896)

CHAPTER VII

SECTARIAN CASTES

Celibacy and asceticism are as a rule characteristics of the religious bodies of Hinduism It is strange, therefore, to find that some of these bodies include sections whose members marry and live as householders Such sections, where they exist have all the usual caste restrictions In the United Provinces there are four sectarian castes which differ in certain respects from one another the four are the Atith Goshain Bishnoi and Sadh

The growth of sectarian castes

The Atiths as a sect are a somewhat indefinite body The name seems to be little more than a synonym for Sannyasi Certain Atiths are known as Sannyasi Atiths, and these are regular ascetics others have taken to family life and are known as Gharbari They permit widow marriage and concubinage which shows that they are not of very exalted rank Some of their customs point to their ascetic origin for instance they do not burn their dead but throw them into the Ganges they wear clothes dyed in ochre (*geru*) carry a rosary of *rudraksha* beads and are saluted by the phrase *Namo Narayan* They are Saivas

2 The Atith

The Goshains are spiritual descendants of Shankar Acharya They have two branches, the ascetic, known as Asandhari or Mathdhari, and the family branch known as Grihastha Initiation into the sect consists of two rites, the initiation proper after which the novice, though regarded as a Goshain remains as it were a lay brother following his worldly avocations and living an ordinary family life The second rite is known as *vijaya homa* and after its completion the novice becomes a full Goshain (*vanaprasta*) and has to abandon the secular world, observe all the tenets

3 The Goshain

of the sect, and lead a celibate life This rite is usually postponed until the novice is forty or fifty years of age, as it involves the abandonment of wife and family. Apparently it is these 'lay brethren' who are Grihasthas, many, indeed, seem never to become *vanaprastas* at all, whilst of those that do, some (even *mahants* or heads of ascetic bodies) abandon all attempt to lead a religious life Some Goshains are traders, others are practically landholders, though nominally they are trustees for a deity of lands that have been given to his shrine

4 *The Sadh*

The Sadh or Satnami sect was founded by one Birbhan in 1543 It is a sect pure and simple, recruited from all castes As a group, however, the Sadhs are endogamous, distinctions of rank or wealth are ignored in arranging marriages and their formula of exogamy is that which forbids marriage into a family with which any previous intermarriage is remembered As a body, they are hard-working, industrious, and charitable to their own poorer fellows they live in one *muhalla* and eat and drink together The marriage rite, though based on the usual Hindu form (there is circumambulation, for instance, of the pair with clothes knotted together), is extremely simple There is infant betrothal, marriage takes place after puberty Divorce is permitted only as concomitant to excommunication from the sect Their creed is unitarian they have 112 rules of faith, inculcating

(i) worship of one God,
(ii) modesty and humility,
(iii) truth and honesty,
(iv) praise of God,
(v) absence of covetousness,
(vi) the abandonment of caste distinctions,
(vii) simplicity of clothing,
(viii) vegetarianism and sobriety

and forbidding,

(ix) murder, tyranny, and violence,
(x) polygamy,
(xi) begging,
(xii) the observance of particular feast days

5 *The Bishnoi* The Bishnoi is perhaps the most curious of all sectarian castes Originally the Bishnois were disciples of one Jhambaji who lived between 1450 and 1500 A D They were never ascetics, in this resembling the Sadhs indeed one of Jhambaji s precepts is baptize your children They have eight endogamous sections—Jat Baniya, Brahman Ahir Sonar Chauhan Kasibi and Seth (or Shaikh) These of course correspond to the castes to which the members originally belonged They observe the rule of *gotra* exogamy and marry into no family so lǒng as any tie of relationship is remembered They have a marriage ceremonial of their own and do not burn but bury their dead An account of their councils has already been given [1] The Bijnor Bishnois formerly used the title Shaikhji and the Muham madan salutation *Salam alaikum* wore Muhammadan clothes and bore Muhammadan names This curious custom is explained by a story that they murdered a Muham madan qazi who prevented them from burning a widow and compounded for the offence by pretending to adopt Islam The custom is now dying out

[1] See Chapter VI.

Principal uthorities.—Crooke, *Tribes and Cast s of th N W.P and Oudh* (1896)
Census R port U P 1911 p. 364 (for Bishnoi).

CHAPTER VIII

HILL CASTES

1 Distribution

There are only three main castes in the hill tracts, namely, the Brahman, Rajput and Dom In Almora in 1911, for instance, out of a total Hindu population of 518,000, 490,000 belonged to one or other of these three groups, in Garhwal, there were 459,000 out of 475,000 in the state of Tehri the figure was no less than 293,000 out of 299,000 Such other castes as are represented in the hills are not true hill castes their members are settlers, more or less permanent, from the plains, or in the case of the Bhotiyas, from Tibet. In 1911 there were, for instance, some 3,000 Banias, 9,000 Bhotiyas, 8,000 Faqirs and 2,000 Gurkhas in Almora, of whom the last-named are troops cantoned in the district, whilst the Faqirs are attracted by its numerous holy places, but these are the only Hindu castes with over 1,000 members Similarly, in Garhwal, the only castes apart from the Brahman, Rajput and Dom with over 1,000 members were the Bania (2,000), Bhotiya (3,000), Chamar (1,000), Faqir (3,000) and Gurkha (2,000), whilst in Tehri there were 3,000 Chamars and no other caste with over 1,000 members [1]

2 Hill Brahmans and hill Rajputs

The hill Brahman and hill Rajput both differ widely from their brethren in the plains In 1911 the Brahman caste was recorded at the census under twelve main subcastes, the Rajput under forty-three principal clans But in 1911, in Almora, Garhwal and Tehri, out of 297,000 Brahmans only 3,750 [2] belonged to one or other of the

[1] There are hill tracts in Naini Tal and Dehra Dun, but their figures are not referred to above because they also possess submontane tracts, and this fact makes it impossible to treat their figures as symptomatic of hill districts Garhwal possesses submontane tracts, but they are of small extent

[2] Gaurs 571, Kanaujiyas 387, Saraswatis 2,752, Panchdravids 40

twelve subcastes and only 139[1] Rajputs in all out of 700 000 to one or other of the forty-three clans These figures sufficiently prove that the hill Brahmans and Rajputs are *sui generis*

3 *Origin of the hill Brahmans and Rajputs The Kh sa ac*

About these hills, writes the Moghul ruler Babar are other tribes of men With all the investigation and enquiry I could make among the natives of Hindustan I could get no sort of description or authentic information regarding them All that I could learn was that the men of these hills were called Kas It struck me that as the Hindustanis frequently confound (the letters) *shin* and *sin* and as Kashmir is the chief city in these hills, it may have taken its name from that circumstance Babar s shrewd conjecture is supported by more evidence than he knew for the recurrence of the word Kas or Kash in the nomenclature of the hills is too striking to be the result of mere chance We have for instance, Kashgar Kashmir Karakash Hindu Kush the Khasa tribe in Kashmir the Khasiya Rajput and Brahman in Kumaun and the Khas sept in Nepal The word is usually derived from the name of the old Khasa race The existence of this race is well established It is referred to in the Vishnu and Vaya Puranas, and in the Mahabharata where it is described as a northern tribe which brought presents of *paipilika* gold—that fabulous gold so frequently mentioned by classical writers which was collected by ants (*pipilaka*)—a fact that possibly indicates that the Khasas were carriers of Tibetan gold dust The Khasas are probably the Cesi of Megasthenes the *Mudra Rakshasa* names them as one of the confederacy of *mlechcha* tribes arrayed against Chandragupta and Manu puts them amongst his *vrisala* castes of degraded Rajputs

The hill Brahmans and Rajputs are usually regarded as being partly the original inhabitants of the hills, partly as

P wars or Chauhan 36, Bundela

Others supposed Hindu Kush t be a corruption of Indicus Caucasus McCrindle *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arria* (1877), pp. 81 2 *note*

Herodotus, III 102-5; Arrian, *Anabasis* V 4, 7; Strabo, XV; Aelian, Pli y Propertius nd many others,—for list see *McCrindle* op. cit. p. 96, *not*

degraded Brahmans and Rajputs who have immigrated from the plains Each caste has a branch called Khasiya, who consider themselves to be degraded immigrants, but are more probably connected with the ancient Khasas

4 *The hill Brahman*

In the hills and especially in Garhwal, there are three kinds of Brahman, the Sarola, Gangari and Khasiya According to Mr Atkinson[1] some 90 per cent of all Brahmans in Kumaun are Khasiyas

(*a*) *The Sarola and Gangari* It would seem that Gangari is originally a local appellation meaning 'dweller by the Ganges', applied to everybody, of whatever caste, who lives by that river The Sarolas are Gangaris who have become differentiated by a change of function, according to one account they were the cooks of the army of a raja when in the field At the present day many of their sections still seem to devote themselves to cooking, though some are in the civil service of the rajas, some are teachers and some domestic servants The Gangaris are mostly priests of the village deities, and of Bhairon, the Sarolas, unorthodox though they may be in their ritual, at all events profess to worship the orthodox deities The names of most of the Sarola sections are derived from the village of origin (*that*) of the section Some of the chief Gangari subdivisions are attached to the service of particular temples

(*b*) *The Khasiya* Most Khasiyas are cultivators, and unlike respectable Brahmans of the plains, plough themselves There are some 250 sections, mostly derived from the villages where they live In recent times many Khasiyas have tried to establish connexion with the plains, claiming to be some Tiwaris, some Chaubes, others, Pants, Pandes, Joshis, Upadhyas, Pathaks, Gaurs, and Kanaujiyas, but the great majority make no such pretence, and have no knowledge at all of *sakha* or *pravara*,[2] and very little even of their *gotra* Some sections have functions of

[1] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol III, pp 399, 428, (1886)

[2] *Sakha*, a body of persons following a particular school of Vedic teaching,

pravara, a group of *gotras* having sacrificial fires in common

their own The Kanseris are priests of Bibhandeswar a name of Siva the Rasyars are cooks (*rasoiya*) the Nangis supply *purohits* to the Bhotiyas the Phulrais supply flowers for the Nanda Devi temple the Ghalbhananiyas perform funeral rites for persons who die without water The Dobhals[1] are exorcists who specialize in demoniac possession the Oliyas avert the evil effects of hailstorms (*ola*) A few may worship orthodox deities but the great mass are servants of Bhairavas and *bhuts*—village priests devil priests, and so on

5 Marriage rules of the hill Brahman

The marriage rules of these Brahmans are curiously lax Sarolas as a rule intermarry but it is not impossible for a Sarola to take a Gangari bride If he does, the offspring are Gangari not Sarola and the result is that there are not only pure Sarolas and pure Gangaris but Gangari subclans attached to Sarola clans The offspring of a Sarola by a Gangari concubine also becomes a Gangari but there is a difference between such children and those by a legitimate Gangari wife for instance the child of a Gairola (a Sarola clan) by a Gangari wife is called Sarola-Gangari a child of a Gairola by a Gangari concubine is called Gangari-Gairola Persons of the mixed blood can only marry with Gangaris Offspring of Sarolas by Khasiya concubines similarly become Khasiyas Certain of the higher Gangari sections—the Dobhal Unyal Dangwal and Bughara—are strict in their marriage rules for instance the wife of a man of any of these clans if belonging herself to a lower clan is forbidden to eat with her father s family after marriage a curious and possibly unique prohibition Some Khasiyas have lately begun to intermarry with Gangaris, especially the Ghidwals, who pretend to be Gangari Ghildyals, and the Belwals these latter are a subcaste degraded because they accept impure gifts, such as cows that bleed at the udder and oxen on which the shadow of a snake has fallen though one would imagine that such animals were too rare to cause any appreciable amount of pollution

[1] Of Dobha village There is a Dobhal clan amongst Sarolas, Gangaris and Khasiya alike.

6 *The hill Rajput*

According to Mr Stowell, there used to be three classes of Rajputs, the high caste, second class or ordinary, and third class or Khasiya Rajput, but many of the Khasiyas did not rank as Rajputs at all Sir J A Baines describes the true hill Rajput as keenly jealous of his dignity, observing four maxims of conduct—never to drive a plough, never to marry his daughter to an inferior, never to accept money for his daughter's betrothal, and never to allow his women to neglect the custom of seclusion Most of them, in consequence, were wretchedly poor, and eked out a precarious existence by hunting and hawking Necessity has overcome the scruples of many and driven them to agriculture, the Kanet Rajputs of Dehra Dun are now all husbandmen Other distinctions have also broken down, says Mr Stowell The most respectable members of the first group still as a rule intermarry amongst themselves But even with them it is becoming more a matter of the material position of the individual than of the former status of the clan For instance, the poorer members of the Ringwara Rawat clan (first class) have begun to intermarry with Rajputs of the second class and even with prosperous Khasiyas A Khasiya enlisted and rose to the rank of subedar-major, he has been able to marry his daughters to high caste Rajputs No distinction is made between the giving and taking of girls amongst these clans Even foreigners have been able to advance successful claims to the status of Rajputs A family of Tibetan lamas have settled down in Garhwal and been transformed into a class of Lama-Negis, who intermarry with low class Rajputs Many of the Khasiya sections are named after the village of origin (*thāt*) All of them are engaged in agriculture and petty trade, occupations that the true Rajput anywhere, but especially in the hills, disdains to follow, they worship chiefly the village gods, are served by Khasiya Brahmans, and do not wear the *janeo* or sacred thread, though, according to Mr Pauw in his Settlement Report for Garhwal in 1896, many have begun to usurp it Their marriage rules to some extent vary from place to place.

7. The hill Dom

The origin of the Doms in the hill tracts of Kumaon is so far an unsolved puzzle Mr Crooke regards them as the relics of the original inhabitants of the country, who were enslaved by the immigrant Khasiyas, and mentions the local belief that the Dom is descended from the Dasyu of the Vedas Mr V A Stowell (whose knowledge of the hill castes has been unrivalled in recent years) holds the same view Mr Edye who made some special enquiries as Census Superintendent in 1921 states in his *Census Report*[1] that he could find no evidence to support or rebut this theory and surmises that Dom is merely a generic name applied to an inferior social class composed of those sections of the people that took to degrading occupations It seems certain that a race of that name once inhabited the hills, for the name Dom or Dum is found every where from Jammu to Kumaon but judging from the facts observed not only in this province but in the Punjab it seems very likely that the name was extended to all low castes and occupations—just as Nishada originally the name of a particular tribe, came to mean any outcaste In the present state of our information further speculation is useless So much only is certain that the hill Dom has no connexion whatever with the Dom tribe in the plains save the similarity of name and it is for this reason that the hill Doms dislike and so far as they can repudiate it

8. The Dom occupational group

It has long been known that the hill Doms have a tendency to combine into occupational groups Lists have been prepared at different times, which vary considerably I have no less than five such lists before me The earliest of these is that of Mr Atkinson in the old *Himalayan Gazetteer* which dates back to the eighties and relates to the Garhwal district The second was compiled by Pandit Jwala Dat Joshi in the early nineties, and purports to relate to the whole of Kumaun but is certainly incomplete it can however be completed by using the

[1] *Census Report U P* 1921 Appendix C.

census lists of 1891. The next two both belong to 1911, and were prepared one by Mr Stowell for Garhwal, one for Almora by Mr Panna Lal; the former is incomplete, for it omits groups that existed in Garhwal at an earlier date, and are still to be found. The last is Mr. Edye's list of 1921, which relates to Kumaun as a whole, it includes more groups than previous lists, and all groups which may be regarded as 'authenticated' I give these lists below I have completed Pandit J D Joshi's list by inserting names found in the census lists of 1891, and Mr Stowell's by adding all names found both in the former Garhwal list and in later lists. (These additions are in italics.)

Circa 1885	Circa 1895	Stowell 1911	Panna Lal 1911	1921	Occupation
Agari		Agri		Agri	Iron smelters
Lohar	Lohar	Lohar	Lohar	Lohar	Iron smiths
Tamta	Tamta	Tamta	Tamta	Tamta	Copper smiths
	Tirwa			Tirwa	Tin smiths and knife grinders
Ruriya	Baruri	Ruriya	Ruriya or Bairi	Ruriya Bairi Dhanik	Basket makers
Auji or Darzi	*Auji*	*Auji*	Auji	Auji	Tailors, drummers
	Darzi			Darzi	Tailors
Dholi	Dholi	*Dholi*	Dholi	Dholi	Tailors, drummers
			Turi	Turi	Trumpeters
Hurkiya	Hurkiya	Hurkiya	Hurkiya Damai	Hurkiya	Drummers
Badi	Badi	Badi		Badi	Dancers and singers
Orh	Orh	Orh	Orh	Orh Raj	Masons
	Barghi		Bare	Barai	Stone masons
Chamar or Bairsawa	Chamar Sarki Mochi	Chamar Mochi	Chamar Sarki Mochi	Mochi Chanal	Workers in leather
Chunyar	*Chunara*	Chunara		Chunera	Turners
Barhai or Orh	*Barhai*	*Barhai*	Barhai	Barhai	Carpenters

Circa 1885	Circa 1885	Stowell 1911	Panna Lal 1911	1921	Occupation
...			Parki	..	Makers of wooden vessels
..			Hankiya	Hankiya }	Potters
..		..		Panri }	
Dhunar or Mallah	Dhuni	Dhunar	Dhuni	Dhuniya	Labourers
...		..	..	Bakhariya	Labourers and menials
..		..		Jamoriya	Cultivators
Pahri	*Pahariya*	*Pahri*	Pahari	Pahri	Watchmen
Bhul	Bhul	*Bhul*	Bhul	Bhul	Oil pressers
Koli	*Koli*	*Koli*	*Koli*	*Koli*	Weavers
..	Bamra			Bamra	Sack-makers (ex Jats)
Darya		*Darya*			Sorcerers
Dhaki	*Dhaki*	Dhaki			Outcasted Khasiyas
..	*Dhobi*	..		Dhobi	Washermen

The Agari or Agri are iron smelters by tradition but as long ago as Mr Atkinson's time, they were already giving up an illpaid and dangerous occupation for road making and general labour The Tamta corresponds to the Kasera of the plains The Tirwa used to be a tin smith he is now a sword and knife grinder The Rúriya makes baskets, sieves and other articles of bamboo the group seems to have thrown off two branches, Bairi and Dhanik of which the former in 1911 was a mere synonym for Ruriya Auji Darzi and Dholi are all connected Forty years ago Auji and Darzi were merely different names for the tailor group whilst the Dholi was an old offshoot of that group that had changed its occupation to drumming It would seem as if the two functions (which make a curious pair) have not yet been fully differentiated The Hurkiya and Badi are both wandering musicians the latter is regarded as a Nat in the plains The Orh Bare or Barai and Barhai are all related the last two are branches of the first which is one of the main divisions. The Chunara corresponds to the Kunera of the plains The Dhunar or Dhuniya is an agricultural labourer the Bhul corresponds to the Teli and is sometimes so called The Koli corresponds to the Kori and

is another of the old divisions. The Baura used to allege that he was no 'Dom', but an ex-Jat he is now a sack-maker The Dhaki too is not a 'Dom', but a group of outcasted Khasiyas There is a certain mystery about the Chanal Mr Edye states that the group had been in existence for at least fifty years, and that it then gave up the occupation of weaving for its present occupation (shoe making and leather work). But the name is found in no previous list On the other hand the Chamar, found in all lists till 1921, then disappeared The hill Chamar refused to answer to that name, and called himself Baiswara or 'outcaste'. 'Chanal' is simply 'Chandal', which also means outcaste, so, in all probability, the present day Chanal is merely the Chamar under a new name

9 *The marriage rules of the hill 'Dom'*

The endogamous restrictions of the hill 'Doms' are extraordinarily indefinite, they vary not only from place to place, but from time to time Mr Atkinson says nothing of the matter, but arranges the occupational groups in four classes according to social precedence, and no doubt these had some effect on intermarriage The four classes were as follows ·

1 Koli, Tamta, Lohar, Orh, Dhaki, Barhai.
2 Bhul, Chunyar, Ruriya, Agari, Pahri
3. Dhunar, Darya, Chamar
4. Badi, Hurkiya, Darzi or Auji, and Dholi

Pandit J D Joshi is the first to tell us anything definite about the Dom's endogamous restrictions According to him the Chamar, Dholi, Badi, and Hurkiya were endogamous groups the rest were exogamous and intermarried, though a group that prospered was apt to become endogamous Mr Stowell, in 1911, arranged the occupational groups into endogamous sections Of these, three consisted of a single group each—namely, the Koli, the Dhunar, and the Mochi, the rest consisted of two or more exogamous groups that intermarried These were ·

(1) Agri, Lohar
(2), Lohar, Tamta, Ruriya, Chunara, Orh, Barhai, Pahri.

(3) Bhul, Darya, Chamar
(4) Auji Dholi
(5) Hurkiya, Badi Dhaki

The Agri intermarried only with the Lohar but the Lohar intermarried not only with the Agri, but with all the groups in the second class

Mr Panna Lal supplied a similar arrangement for Almora According to him four occupational groups were endogamous—the Hankiya Koli Hurkiya and Parki The rest consisted of two or more exogamous groups that intermarried These were

1 Bare, Orh
2 Orh Lohar Tamta Barhai
3 Bhul Chamar
4 *Damai Auji Dholi*
5 Auji Dholi Dhuni Runya Pahari Khaikut Turi
6 Mochi Sarki

The explanation of the overlapping in classes (1) and (2) and in classes (4) and (5) respectively is the same as in the case of Mr Stowell s first and second classes whilst the Damai is singular in taking wives not only from the Auji and Dholi but within his own group

Finally Mr Edye after stating that the endogamous rules vary from place to place, asserts that no individual occupational group is ever endogamous He arranges these groups into five classes as follows

1 Agri Lohar Tamta, Tirwa
2 Barhai Bhul Bairi Baura Chanal Hankiya Koli Orh Runya Raj Dhanik Dhuniya, Jamoriya
3 Bakhariya, Chunera Mochi Pahri, Dhobi Pauri
4 Auji Darzi Dholi Turi
5 Hurkiya, Badi

The most general rule according to him is that any group in class (1) can intermarry with any group in class (2) whilst the other three groups are each endogamous

All that can be made of such evidence as this is that though there is a tendency towards endogamy, there is as yet nothing resembling caste endogamy, whilst the sub-caste endogamy is still extremely fluid

The rule of exogamy is simple, the descendants of a common ancestor will not intermarry, so far as the relationship is known The marriage age for girls is eight to ten years, when a girl has passed the age of puberty unmarried, she is allowed to select her own husband. Widow marriage and the levirate are practised, whilst concubinage is permitted, the children of a concubine apparently inherit, but are regarded as inferior to the children of a wife as they cannot join in the worship of deceased ancestors. The custom of *ghardamada*, where the bridegroom carries out a period of service before he receives his bride, is common A wife who is an outcaste, a lunatic, or a leper may be divorced, a divorcée, so long as she was not put aside on account of disease, may become a concubine, but may not be remarried Commensal restrictions, as usual, follow the marital restrictions, endogamy connotes the prohibition against eating food cooked by any but a fellow casteman.

10 The panchayat system in the hills

Outside the towns such as Srinagar, Almora or Ranikhet, there appears to be no system of caste *panchayats* in the hills Their place is taken by the village *panchayats* Of these the *padhan* or *mukhiya* (village headman) is, *ex officio, sarpanch* Members of all respectable castes belong to these councils, lower castes are allowed to invoke them to settle their affairs, but seem to have no voice in their deliberations These councils deal not only with social disputes, but with matters that would normally come before a law court, civil or criminal, and frequently decide them finally In Garhwal, the councils also make the arrangements for periodical festivities In Almora, the *panchayat* is a primitive court of justice the accused if found guilty has to sign a *kail-nama* which is countersigned by all members of the *panchayat* and handed to the complainant Fine is the usual punishment, but *gauhatiya* or cow-killing demands, as usual, a severer

expiation In Garhwal the *dharmadhikari* already referred to, purifies the offender who has been convicted and so makes his reinstatement in caste possible but in Almora he decides what the punishment shall be, after the *panchayat* has found the offender guilty thus playing the part of a judge to their jury Persons dissatisfied with a *panchayat's* decision can and do have recourse to the regular courts

ii Summary

Sir Richard Burn [1] following Mr Atkinson in his *Kumaun Gazetteer* pointed out that the social system as found in the Kamaun hills is far closer to the system described by Manu than the social system found anywhere else in India It is indeed more primitive even than that The marriage rules of all castes are extremely lax compared with the rules of their fellow Hindus in the plains The various classes of Brahmans intermarry with no more unpleasant result than a certain loss of status the Rajput clans regard rather the material position of the bridegroom than his birth and ancestry the Dom sections are, within certain limits exogamous Not only so but the Brahman often takes a Rajput woman to be his concubine without incurring social obloquy the Khas Rajput will accept to wife the daughter of a Dom if the Dom be prosperous In a word caste endogamy though it may be regarded as highly desirable is not imperative and that was also the state of affairs, not only in Manu's time but in the time of Megasthenes Occupation too has not yet been able to break up the Dom race into strictly endogamous groups though no doubt the tendency is in that direction but in Manu's time occupational castes were already in existence and to find a parallel it will be necessary to go back certainly as far as Megasthenes when occupational castes were beginning to take shape and possibly even further back still The hill *panchayat* has obviously no connexion with the caste *panchayat* of the plains its descent is totally different The caste *panchayat* traces its origin

See Chapter VI pa 10 (iii).
[1] *Census Report U.P* 1901 pp. 215-6.

to the guild councils there is nothing resembling a guild in the hills The Kumaun *panchayat* seems clearly to be the modern representative of a primitive village court of justice, such as one would expect to find in a mountainous region where access to any central court would be difficult at all times, and at some times impossible [1] The social system of the hills is, therefore, so far as Hinduism is concerned, in many important respects *sui generis*—much simpler, much more primitive, than the system of the plains

[1] Before the United Provinces Village *Panchayat* Act was passed in 1920, village as opposed to caste *panchayats* were not commonly found in the U P, whatever may be the case in other parts of India

Principal authorities —L T Atkinson, *Kumaun Gazetteer* (1886)
Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh* (1896) (especially Gangari, Khasiya, Dom)
Census Report, U P, 1911, pp 345, 355-6 (where the information is based on communications from Mr A A Stowell and Mr Panna Lal)
Census Report, U P, 1921

CHAPTER IX

GIPSY CASTES

1 The use of the name gipsy

In northern India are to be found wandering about the country numerous vagrant tribes true nomads, living in temporary huts and wretched tents, and for the most part criminally inclined These tribes in ethnographical works and census reports are generically known by the term gipsy The use of this term is illegitimate being based on a fancied connexion between them and the gipsies of Europe which has been the object of much learned but inconclusive research So much is possibly true, that some European gipsies originally came from India, for there are many resemblances between the Hindi and the Romany vocabularies But that fact does not warrant the tracing of a relationship between European gipsies and the present vagrant tribes Hindi is the general language no important similarities have been noticed between Romany and the special dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes, which indeed are as a rule merely argot or thieves Latin It has been suggested that the words Rom Romany Rom nichal are variants of the Hindu caste name Dom But the root ro or rom is found in other languages [1] whilst even if the derivation were correct it is not certain that the Dom is akin to the Nat the Habura the Kanjar *et hoc genus omne* Apart from these linguistic similarities, the only point of resemblance between European gipsy and Indian vagrant is a general similarity of habits The term gipsy, as used in these pages connotes no

[1] e.g Coptic, and (according to Herodotus) ancient Egyptian—in both cases i the sense of man which meaning the root also bears in Romany I Greek and Latin, the root means strength (Greek *ῥώμη* Latin *robur*). The names Rom and Romany have also been connected with Roumania and the Turkish Roum On the whole question see Crooke *Tribes and Castes of the N W P and Oudh* (Dom); and *N.-W Provinces of India* (1897), p. 2 6.

theory of the origin of our Indian vagrant tribes, and is merely retained because it is in general use

2 The scope of the term 'gipsy'

But if the use of this term is illegitimate, its scope is also ill-defined Some writers would include amongst 'gipsy' castes, groups which are compelled by their occupations to wander about the country In one of his earlier works, for instance, Mr Crooke described as 'gipsies' the Saiqalgar, a knife grinder, and the Baheliya, a hunter [1] On the same principle one could also include the Bisati and Ramaiya peddlers, the Banjara, Belwar, and Rahwari carriers, the Kewat and Mallah boatmen, and the Aheriya hunter Another source of confusion is due to the use of the term, still more loosely, for those tribes known to the police as 'vagrant and criminal', yet there are many tribes, rightly branded as criminal, which are not truly vagrant, just as there are tribes truly vagrant, which are not really or entirely criminal In this discussion, only the true vagrants are described—namely, tribes that have no settled abode and no home but their tents Tribes that have permanent homes which they leave from time to time in pursuit of their trade or of crime are ignored

3 Grouping of the gipsy caste

There are fifteen castes which can be regarded as truly gipsy—namely, the Badhik, Barwar, Bauriya or Bawariya, Bengali, Beriya, Bhantu, Habura, Kanjar, Karwal, Maghaya Dom, Nat, Qalandar, Sansiya and Sanaurhiya They fall into certain groups

(1) The Beriya, Bhantu, Habura, Karwal, and Sansiya possess so many and such striking affinities that they may be regarded as offshoots of a single nomadic race Their customs, traditions, and religion resemble each other Their favourite deities are Kali, Devi, and Muhammadan saints such as Zahir Pir and Madar Sahib The Beriyas and Haburas both trace their origin to the ruined town of Nohkhera in Etah district Bhantus claim Beriyas, Haburas claim Beriyas, Bhantus, Karwals, and

[1] *N.-W. Provinces of India*, pp 212 and 99

Sansiyas as branches of their respective tribes Beriyas and Karwals intermarry Sansiyas call themselves Bhantus Sansiyas and Beriyas have the same legendary ancestor To this group may also be affiliated the Bengali who seems to be what in Bengal is called the Bediya (Beriya) And though the affinities are less striking there can be little doubt that the Kanjar also belongs to this group The Kanjar claims the Habura the Habura claims the Kanjar as a subcaste Kunchbandhiya and Bhains are both subcastes of both Kanjar and Beriya and in the latter case, also of Sansiya Of these tribes all but the Bengali are proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911 (there are few Bengalis in the United Provinces) All Kanjars, however are not criminals many are poor but fairly respectable hunters and *shikaris* But Beriya Bhantu Habura Karwal Sansiya only differ as regards criminality, in the matter of degree

(ii) The Nat The word Nat means dancer and is an occupational term including a number of different clans who have been grouped together merely on account of their common occupation of dancing prostitution and performance of various primitive industries These industries are however all of a particular kind Amongst Nats are found dancers, tumblers acrobats of every variety makers of combs, articles of grass and straw and metal conjurers jugglers snake-charmers tattooers musicians, thimble riggers quack doctors—in a word all those nondescript vagrants who wander about from country fair to country fair making a living which is always disreputable and often dishonest They are probably recruited from many strata of society and are of different racial stocks There is a certain amount of similarity between them and the great nomad group mentioned above (Nat for instance is a sectional name amongst Beriyas, Haburas, and Kanjars Many of them are naturally enough petty thieves and their women are mostly prostitutes Nevertheless, the Nats may be regarded as forming a group of their own though there are affinities with the

Crooke *Tribes and Castes of the N W P and Oudh* Vol. IV p. 56.

Habura-Kanjar group on one hand, and the Banjaras on the other

(iii) Badhik, Bauriya, Barwar, Sanaurhiya. All these castes are tribes of mixed origin, formed originally of outcastes and broken men of all kinds, who came to them as to a sort of cave of Adullam The Badhiks[1] know little of their origin, but vaguely claim a Rajput descent. The Bauriyas with extraordinary unanimity (and the tribe is scattered all over India) claim to be connected with the Rajputs of Chithor, whose vassals and mercenaries they were The siege of Chithor in 1305 sent them to wander about the country as thieves and robbers. There is some reason for believing that Badhiks and Bauriyas are related Barwars claim to be descended from some outcasted Kurmis of Yahyapur in Saran The Sanaurhiyas claim Brahman descent and are a regular confraternity, formed for the commission of crime

(iv) The Qalandar is a vagrant of the same type as the Nat, but he is a Muhammadan, and his speciality is exhibiting trained animals, especially bears, monkeys and goats

(v) The place of the Dom in this medley of castes is obscure Most authorities hold that Dom was probably the name of an aboriginal race, as indeed it is still in the Himalayan hills And it is tempting to suppose that the race, of which the allied vagrant tribes (which form the first group) are branches, was the Dom race But it is impossible to trace any connexion between these tribes and either the Dom tribe in general or the Maghaya Doms in particular It is more probable that the Dom was not at first a criminal or even a vagrant tribe, though it was doubtless extremely primitive, that under the pressure of Aryan and other invasions, it was broken up and driven into the wilds, where certain groups of the tribe took to crime and vagrancy in pursuit of crime It is, therefore, more nearly akin to the third group

[1] Sanskrit *Vadhaka*, murderer One of the chief Badhik exploits was the murder of Mr Ravenscroft, B C S, in Bahraich in 1823

4 Description of the customs of certain castes The Barwar

The Barwar caste has three subdivisions, the Ghulam (slave), Swang (master), and Tilam The Ghulams are kidnapped children of various castes, and their descendants the Swang are pure Barwars the Tilams are children kidnapped by the Ghulams, or their descendants Swangs are now endogamous Ghulams and Tilams apparently intermarry and eat together whilst both eat food cooked by Swangs, though the Swangs refuse to eat food cooked by them Their marriage customs are much the same as those of low caste Hindus and may be summarized as follows Marriage is both adult and infant Two wives may be married at a time and the two may be sisters provided the elder is married before the younger Concubinage within the tribe and divorce are both permitted the divorcee may not be remarried but may become a concubine Property goes half to the legitimate children half to the children of Barwar concubines the offspring of outsiders have no rights of inheritance A Swang who marries an outsider becomes a Ghulam The levirate is permitted but not enforced widow marriage is allowed There is no permanent *panchayat* though the *sahua* or commander of the gang has certain powers and privileges in the matter of booty Generally speaking after a deduction of 3¾ per cent from the stolen property (which goes to the gods) 28 per cent is set aside which is equally divided between the thief and the *sahua* the remaining 68¼ per cent is then divided equally amongst the whole gang including the thief and the *sahua* There are, however different rules for gold coin silver coin coral beads and pearls cloth and arms—which last go entirely to the thief There is also another official known as the *dhebra* who is a sort of regimental quarter master being responsible for feeding the gang The caste has an elaborate thieves Latin which seems to be chiefly corrupted Hindi e g *namut* (*manush*—man) *ban* (*man*—woman) *sahajan* (*mahajan*—merchant), *bajar* (*hazar* or *hajar*—a thousand) *songala* (*bangala*—bungalow) *dehanu* (bribe) *sithai* (*mithai*—sweetmeats) *phunk*

(a buffalo—probably onomatopoeic) are some of the most obviously Hindi words

5 *The Bawariya* The Bawariya is divided up into a number of exogamous sections called *gotras*, of the usual kind: the best known are the Turai and Pachhada, and Gola and Khagi, which as pairs are endogamous There is a vague rule of prohibited kin to the effect that blood relations (*dudh ke natedar*)[1] may not marry They admit strangers of other castes, but the newcomers do not as a rule get full caste privileges at once The marriage rules are very lax, it is said that wives rarely live with their husbands, though the official husband is always responsible for the children. Divorce and widow marriage are permitted divorcées can remarry by the *karao* form Their headmen are hereditary and are known by the name *hauliya*, they receive Re 1 per head a year as fees They have a dialect of their own which may, however, only be the dialect of their home (Bagri or Punjabi) Its most striking peculiarity is the use of 'h' or 'kh' for 's' e g *hat* (*sat*—seven), *daukh* (*das*—ten), *khakhra* (*susra*—father-in-law), *manukh* (*manush*—man) The same use of *kh* reappears in a Kanjar dialect But this dialect seems to be merely one that is unusual in the United Provinces and so not intelligible

6 *The Beriya* The Beriya has a long list of subcastes which are of the usual kind, but, owing to the peculiar marriage customs of this tribe, are quite unimportant Regular marriages seldom occur amongst them because nearly all the girls are reserved for prostitution, and the men take concubines from other castes Indeed in Farrukhabad, to marry a girl of the tribe involves outcasting, to marry a prostituted girl involves a fine Connexions with women of menial castes are forbidden and involve expulsion There is said, however, to be a tendency towards regular marriage, when they do marry the wife can be put away for infidelity Union with a family with which there has been a former alliance is forbidden, the levirate and widow marriage are

[1] Literally, 'milk' relations

both permitted They have a strong tribal council and in Bengal at all events hereditary headmen (*sardar*) The councils are usually held once a year at Nohkhera in the rainy season

7 *The Habura* The Habura is said to have a set of exogamous septs of the usual kind but it is doubtful how far the fact has any effect on their marriage customs The rules of exogamy seem to be (1) to avoid the blood relation (*dudh bachake*) and (2) to marry outside the camp or gang Adultery is severely punished but pre nuptial immorality is lightly regarded Widows and divorcées may be re-married by the married rite (*karao*) They have a very strong tribal council under a president (*sardar*) which manages all tribal affairs the punishment for adultery in Aligarh involves outcasting The Habura has a regular thieves Latin which however is less like corrupt Hindi than usual

8 *The Kanjar* The Kanjar has two endogamous subcastes, the Kunch band and the Jallad in Aligarh in Bijnor there are also two the true and the Adhela Kanjars who are of mixed descent whilst in Agra also there are various endogamous groups There are also a number of exogamous sections, together with a vague rule which prohibits marriage between near cog nates Adult marriage seems to be usual though in some districts they have the custom of *pet manganiya* (womb betrothal) by which two fathers betroth to each other their unborn children conditionally on their proving of opposite sexes Widow marriage and the levirate are both permitted There is a tribal council but it does not appear to be of a permanent character it tries the usual offences and also cases where a clansman has been robbed or assaulted by another clansman Women accused of immorality are subjected to an ordeal which consists in holding a hot iron weeding spud in her hand if the skin is not burnt she is acquitted

In 1911 the census returns disclosed 119 speakers of a gipsy dialect called Kunchbandhi Specimens of this dialect were collected by Mr W Kirkpatrick amongst the

Kunchbandhiya Kanjars in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where they come in contact with Europeans as *shikaris* to the Delhi Tent Club It is an argot based on ordinary Hindustani, the following are specimen words and phrases

Bread	*dhimri*
Caste	*jetheli*
Child	*chookha*
Burial	*khimti dubaigo*
Gold mohar	*khasarf*
Man	*khad*
Woman	*loobhar*
Rupees	*rika*
Tobacco	*romak*
He has gone away	*rardes gaogiro*
I know	*jando*
There it goes	*woh jaogda*
Hide	*jugjao*
Snake	*sanpilo*
Well	*dhoan*
Water	*nimani*
Father	*bapilo*
Mother	*cha, antari*
Ox	*rail*
Moon	*chianda*
Sky	*radul*
Storm	*kandhi*
Awake	*jagog*
Dog	*jhukal*
Thief	*khainch*

The Hindustani basis for many of these words is clear *Jetheli* (caste) obviously refers to *jeth*, a term of relationship *Khimti* is *mati*, altered by preposing *kh*, words similarly altered are *khad* (*admi*), *khasarf* (*ashrafi*), *kandhi* (*andhi*) Other alterations of ordinary Hindustani words are *chooka* (*chokra*), *rika* (*sikka*), *romak* (*tambaku*), *rardes* (*pardes*), *dhoan* (*kuan*), *nimani* (*pani*), *bapilo* (*bap*), *cha* (*ma*), *antari* (*matari*), *rail* (*bail*), *sanpilo* (*sanp*), *chianda* (*chand*), *radul* (*badul*) The similarity of the verbal

roots is also apparent—*jagog* is connected with *jagna*, *jando* with *janna* *jaogda* and *gaogiro* with *jana* (*gaya*) *khainch* may also be connected with *khinchna* to snatch There are three words which resemble Romany—*jhukal* (dog—Romany *jhukel*) *mail* (horse—Romany *meila* a donkey) *loobhar* (woman—Romany *lubni* a wench or hussy)

9 *The Karwal*

The Karwals themselves say that they are Kols who now despise them because they have given up nomadic habits They intermarry with Beriyas but are distinct from them because they do not prostitute their women The people call them Haburas which name, however is used loosely for any criminal tribe much as Kanjar is for any non-criminal vagrant tribe They are vagrants under police supervision They have lax marriage rules, for a man may take a wife of his own gang or from another gang or from among the Beriyas or (on payment of a fine of Rs 7) from any caste save the Chamar Bhangi Dhobi Dom Kori and Dhanuk Marriages need the sanction of the tribal council and a fee of Rs 4 is charged there is no ceremony save the *dudhabhati*[1] Widow marriage is permitted the fee is Rs 30 or Rs 60 if the widow is a virgin The levirate is also permitted and a man may marry his younger brother s widow on payment of Rs 24 as a fee A Karwal can buy a wedded wife from her husband on payment of Rs 24 to the council and Rs 60 to the husband, plus the expenses of the original wedding Divorce is allowed for adultery The rape of a widow involves a fine of no less than Rs 150—indeed one of the many curiosities of this caste is its system of fines which all go to the council In addition to those mentioned above, the headman or headwoman—criminal gangs frequently have female *mukhias* thanks to the absence of the men in jail—charges a fee of Re 1-4 for naming a child The tribal council appears to be extremely powerful Karwals worship Jahar (Zahir) Pir Madar Sahib the Panchpir and Ghazi Mian occasionally also Kali and the Ganges They

[1] Ceremonial eating together of bride and bridegroom—a sort of *confarreatio* The meal consists of milk and rice hence the name

have the Kanjar's and Sansiya's ordeal by fire, and a curious ordeal by water, in which the accused has to keep his head under water whilst a man runs 200 paces, if he can do so without taking breath he is adjudged innocent. A form of oath is cutting at the roots of the *pipal* tree This oath, which is found amongst Haburas, the ordeal by fire, found also amongst Sansiyas, the worship of Zahir Pir, also worshipped by Haburas, and of Madar Sahib, also worshipped by Beriyas, together with the right of intermarrying with Beriyas, clearly connects this tribe with the Beriya-Habura-Sansiya group of tribes [1]

10 The Nat

There are both Hindus and Muhammadan Nats, and the customs and ceremonies of the various sections differ accordingly The remarriage of widows and divorcées is permitted, immorality, even infidelity, is lightly regarded, being condoned by a fine In certain sections such as the Kabutari and Kalabaz, whose women are prostituted, the girl is allowed to choose between marriage and the life of a prostitute If they marry, they are carefully looked after The tribal council exists in all sub-sections and has the usual powers The deities worshipped naturally vary considerably As regards their occupation, all that is necessary has already been said above

11 The Qalandar

The Qalandar is a Muhammadan, nominally a faqir, following the rules of the Sunni sect They have three exogamous sections, Khokhar, Ghorawal and Chindi, but the third is now said to be outcasted because they affiliated a Khokhar There is a joint *panchayat*, with a permanent hereditary *sarpanch*, the council meets twice a year at Nawabganj near Cawnpore, or in Bahraich The caste is thoroughly criminal, they punish their convicts by making them feast the brotherhood on their release from jail, but as they only

[1] For other curious customs of this caste at birth and death, see Chapter XI Their women are midwives and pride themselves on their obstetric skill, even pretending ability to perform successfully such operations as craniotomy and cæsarian section The account of these people in the *Census Report* of 1911 was based on information supplied by Mr St J Farnon of the Opium Department who interviewed a gang of them in their own camp

impose this penalty on convicted Qalandars it may be deduced that the culprit is punished not for the theft but for being found out They have an argot of their own

11 The Sansiya

This degraded tribe appears to be divided into two endogamous and a number of exogamous sections The endogamous sections are the *khare* or pure' and the *malla* or half-breed existence of the latter section is due to their custom of kidnapping women It is a curious fact that they act as bards or genealogists to certain Jat and Chauhan Rajput clans They have the usual rule of sec tional exogamy reinforced by a prohibition of marriage between cousins to the third generation there is also a feeling in favour of selecting a bride from another camp The marriage ceremonial is reminiscent of marriage by capture Widow marriage and the levirate are both per mitted Men outnumber women and the bride price conse quently runs high The tribe has an argot of its own as criminals they are second to none

3. The Sanaurhiya

The Sanaurhiya claims to be of Brahmanical descent and tells various tales to support a conten tion which is utterly unfounded It is said that at first the laws of endogamy were strictly enforced if so they have since been relaxed and at the present time quite fifty per cent of the tribe are outsiders admitted to this criminal confederacy as children—probably kidnapped in many cases There are numerous subdivisions, nominally endogamous but the marriage laws are very lax They appear to have no occupation save theft, and have strict rules on the subject They may not use violence or rob after dark by the light of the moon or within a hundred miles of their home Gangs remain absent for as long as two or three years They have an argot of their own

14 Other criminal tribes

The Badhik, Bengali and Bhantu in all respects closely resemble the Barwar and Habura and nothing more need be said of them Nor need anything be said of the Dom of whom indeed only a minor part are vagrants. A

few words may, however, be said about other similar castes

(i) The Audhiya is on a level with other low caste Hindus in matters of custom. They are dangerous criminals, whose special 'lay' is counterfeit coin and jewellery

(ii) The Banjara caste has several branches Their original occupation was the carriage of grain and the sale of cattle, and they acted as commissariat to armies in the field The Turkiya, Baid, and Bahrup subcastes are still grain carriers, the Baids are also doctors and weavers, whilst the Labana trade in salt, the Mukeri and Naik in grain, and all of them in cattle They used to be criminals, specially addicted to cattle theft and kidnapping, as are those of them who turn to crime at the present day But the majority are now honest, and occasionally wealthy

(iii) The Dalera is a low Hindu caste of petty thieves, operating specially at fairs and bathing places and in bazaars

(iv) The Gandhila is a vagrant beggar, bird-catcher, and procurer

(v) The Gidhiya is a Bawariya offshoot that has settled down to an agricultural life in Rohilkhand

(vi) The Bhatra or Ramaiya is ostensibly a peddler, actually a swindler, by turns astrologer, palmist, quack, and confidence trickster

(vii) The Jogi Pathans are wandering Pathan beggars, strictly orthodox Muhammadans, usually fairly literate, who live by swindling and cheating, pretending to be long-lost relations, and transmuting base metal into gold or silver are their favourite frauds Some of them, however, are honest and respectable agriculturists

(viii) The Rinds are a small tribe of Muhammadan beggars, quack doctors and teachers of the Quran, who are given to petty theft of every kind

(ix) The Kanmail (ear-cleaner) is an offshoot from the Mahawat Nat They are settled in Moradabad and are Muhammadans

15. Changes among the gipsy tribes

At the census of 1911, it was noticed that many persons who obviously belonged to one or other of the vagrant tribes returned themselves by unusual names These were all occupational—Kunchbandhiya, Rachbandhiya Singiwala Gidhiya Kanmail and Kanghigar were the most common all are subcastes of Kanjar, Bawariya or Nat As we have seen above the Gidhiya and Kanmail have both settled down permanently and given up vagrancy There is a certain amount of evidence that the Kanghigars (who are combmakers) have also settled down as there is a colony of them at Kalinjar in Banda whilst the evidence of Mr Kirkpatrick shows that many Kunchbandhiya Kanjars must be permanent residents of the neighbourhood of Delhi In Rohilkhand too certain Gual Nats have given up vagrancy and taken to trade and adopted the style and designation of Badi Banjaras These new developments may point to a tendency to give up vagrant habits and take to honest livelihoods The evidence at present is insufficient to warrant a definite pronouncement, but so far as it goes it appears to point in this direction

16 The Bhant

During the last decade the Bhantus under the leadership of one Sultana developed into a fraternity of dangerous dacoits and Government was compelled to create a special dacoity force to deal with them After prolonged guerilla warfare this force under Mr F Young C I E of the Indian Police succeeded in destroying or arresting the Bhantu gangs Most of those who were not hanged have now been removed with their own consent as settlers to the Andaman Islands

Principal uthorities.—Hollins, *Criminal Tribes f the U P* (1914).
Crooke, *Tribes and Castes f the N-W P and Oudh* (1896).
Census R port U P 1911

CHAPTER X

CASTE AND ISLAM

1 *Invasions of India* — From the dawn of history India has been repeatedly invaded, sometimes by kings in search of new dominions, sometimes by foreign tribes in search of new homes. Persians, Greeks, and Bactrians, Aryas, Sakas, Kushans, and Huns, each in turn carved out for themselves kingdoms in India. Some left little mark either on the country or on its inhabitants, others were ultimately absorbed into the Hindu race and the Hindu polity.

2 *Islam* — In the seventh century after Christ, the new militant religion of Muhammad arose in Arabia, which, in the fullness of time, set in motion a fresh series of invasions into India. Some of these were mere raids in search of slaves and plunder, others were directed to the conquest of fresh territories, many resulted in the permanent settlement of numerous foreigners. They introduced new races, a new civilization, and a new religion into India, and consequently produced important changes, both in the composition of the Indian people, and in their social system. Though it is unnecessary to relate the story of successive kings and successive conquests, so much of a historical account is required as will show how these changes arose.

3 *Early Muslim invasions* — From a very early date, the Arabs had turned covetous eyes on India. As early as 650 A.D. their ships were raiding the coasts of Bombay and Sind. Fourteen years later, an Arab army, advancing from Merv, took Kabul, and detached a force to explore the Indus valley, which sacked Multan, and then returned with much booty and many prisoners. In 711 A.D., Muhammad ibn Kasim, nephew of the Governor of Basra, led an Arab army into

Sind and within three years was master of the country from the sea to Multan Tradition holds that the Sumera Rajputs drove the invaders out in 750 A D and that the latter took refuge in Afghanistan But this is incorrect There is contemporary evidence to show that a Qureshi Arab was reigning as Amir of Multan in 915 and that the kingdom had been hereditary in his family nearly from the beginning of Islam Another Arab dynasty was formed in a new town called Mansura in Lower Sind Other evidence shows that the same situation existed in 976 and in 985 In 1006 the Multan ruler allied himself with the Hindu Raja of Lahore against Mahmud of Ghazni It is clear therefore, that this Arab settlement did not come to an end as usually alleged but its hold on the country was probably feeble, there were few converts to Islam and in course of time all effects of the sole Arab settlement in northern India disappeared

4 Islam in Persia and Central Asia

After the Sind adventure India was free from Muhammadan aggression for some three centuries But during that period events were taking place in neighbouring countries that profoundly affected the nature of the later invasions By 650 the Arab forces had conquered Persia as far as the Oxus by 714 they had advanced the boundary of their empire to the Aral Sea and the Jaxartes (Syr Daria) In 820 the Arab empire began to break up and in the process there came into existence on the north-western borders of India an independent Muslim kingdom consisting of Khorasan, Khwarizm Transoxiana and the greater part of modern Afghanistan with its capital at Bokhara The earlier

Rose *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N W.F P* (1911), Vol. I p. 489. Lane-Poole *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule* (1907) p. 2

[2] Khorasan was a large Persian province. Khwarizm corresponds roughly to the Trans-Caspian territories (Khiva and Merv). Transoxiana is that part of Turkestan between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The parts of Afghanistan that formed part of this kingdom were Kandahar Kabul and Zabulistan i.e. the tracts round Ghazni Rose, op. cit., Vol. I p. 40.

rulers were Arabs or Persians In 961, Alptagin, a Turki slave of the royal Samani family, who had risen to be Governor of Khorasan, becoming involved in a dynastic intrigue, fled for refuge to Ghazni. There he set up a small independent kingdom in the Afghan country, but the next Ghaznavide king but one, the famous Sultan Mahmud, reconquered the kingdom of Bokhara from which Alptagin had fled The population was mainly Persian and Afghan, in Transoxiana there were also many nomad tribes of the Turki branch of the great Tartar race All subsequent Muhammadan invasions of India came from the north-west, and this fact explains the prominence of Persian, Afghan, and Tartar blood among the Muslims of India to-day

5 *The dynasty of Ghazni*

(i) *Sabaktagin* Sabaktagin, successor of Alptagin, was the first to come into conflict with an Indian power In 977, Jaipal, Raja of Lahore, harassed by constant raids from the Afghan hills, led an army to attack Ghazni He was forced to come to terms, but on returning to his own country declined to carry out his promises, and drew together a large army with the assistance of his allies at Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar, and Kanauj Sabaktagin, however, defeated him, took possession of the country up to the Indus, and left a garrison and governor in Peshawar

6 *Sultan Mahmud*

(ii) *Sultan Mahmud,* the greatest king of his time, was also the first great Muslim invader of India During his reign of 33 years (997-1030) he made numerous[1] expeditions into that country, in the course of which he annexed the western Punjab to his dominions, and led raids as far as Kanauj in the east and Gujarat in the south But outside the Punjab his ventures were those of a piratical knight-errant rather than a conqueror, his object was to destroy and plunder temples,[2] not to acquire territory

[1] Some authorities say twelve, some sixteen or seventeen
[2] Notably Nagarkot, Thanesar, and Somnath

6. Later Ghaznavid kings

Under Sultan Mahmud's successors,[1] the Seljuks, a Tartar tribe, broke into Transoxiana and gradually overran and conquered their kingdom and by the beginning of the twelfth century the Ghaznavide dominions consisted of little more than parts of Afghanistan and the Indian provinces, whilst the court was frequently in residence at Lahore From the ethnological point of view the change was of the utmost importance since it must have caused Muslims to take up their permanent residence in India It must have been at this time that by constant intercourse with the Hindus the rudiments of the present Hindustani language were formed and the national character of Indian Muslims was moulded

8 The House of Ghor

The country of Ghor in the mountains east of Herat was inhabited by Afghans who had been conquered by the Arabs and converted as early as 830 A D From the middle of the eleventh century it had become a dependency of Ghazni but in 1152 in revenge for a despicable act of treachery the King of Ghor seized and destroyed Ghazni The earlier Ghori kings succeeded in reconquering a considerable part of the former possessions of the Ghaznavide kingdom thus reopening the road from Persia and Transoxiana into India whilst the fourth of them Shahab-ud-din between the years 1176 and his death in 1206 had conquered practically the whole of northern India from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges

There were twelve of these, who reigned 56 years between them. The dynasty came to an end in 86.

The term is used in a loose sense an inhabitant of Afghanistan There has been much discussion regarding the ethnology of Ghor Older writers say that its people were Afghans f the tribe of Sur Some say they were Turks. Later authorities make them Tājiks, or Persian settlers in Afghanistan of Iranian or Arab descent. See Elphinstone, *History of India*, 2nd edition, Vol. I p. 599; Rose op. cit., s.v 'Tajik. The kings themselves were almost certainly Tājiks.

[a] Also called Muhammad Ghori, Muhammad-bin-Sam and Muiz-ud-din.

9 *Sultans of Delhi*

Shahab-ud-din's conquests were not all effected by himself, but by his generals One of these, Kutb-ud-din Aibak, was viceroy of the Indian provinces under Shahab-ud-din, and on the latter's death proclaimed his independence His successor, Shams-ud-din Altamsh, sought and obtained investiture from the Khalif of Baghdad in 1229, and from that year India became a separate Muhammadan kingdom All succeeding dynasties,[1] however, were none the less of foreign extraction—Turks, Arabs, and Afghans, but, save for recurring irruptions of the Moghuls (who were not, however, converted to Islam till a much later date), there were no further foreign invasions till 1526 It is unnecessary to relate in detail the doings of these Delhi kings, a general account will suffice

10 *Political effects of the earlier Muslim invasions*

At no time was Islam universally triumphant throughout India The principal obstacle to Muslim success was the organization of the Rajput class The Rajputs were formed into clans, the members of which were bound to their chief and to each other by many ties The chiefs of these clans stood in the same relation to the king as their own retainers did to them, and so the king, nobility, and soldiery all formed a single united body Further, there was sufficient coherence between neighbouring Rajput kingdoms to draw them together against an invader Thus Lahore, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj united against Sabaktagin, and at a later date the Tomars of Delhi, the Chauhans of Ajmer, and the Gaharwars of Kanauj united against Sultan Mahmud[2] But even when such an alliance had been defeated, the separate states must still be vanquished in

[1] Other dynasties were as follows (1) Slave kings (Turki), so called because the earliest were slaves of the Ghori kings, 1206-1290 (2) House of Khilji (a Turki tribe long settled in Afghanistan), 1290-1320 (3) House of Tughlaq (Punjabi Turks), 1320-1414 (4) Saiyids (Arabs settled in India), 1414-1450 (5) Lodis (Afghans), 1450-1526

[2] It is usually stated that the ruling dynasty in Kanauj was the Rathors, but this is wrong See V A Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edition (1924), p 399, note 5

detail so that conquest was a protracted and tedious business whilst each state remained a focus for revolt And such revolts were frequent A ruler that submitted was usually permitted to remain in possession of his dominions so that at all times a considerable part of the Muslim empire was semi independent Such princes would remain submissive under a strong ruler under weak rulers they rebelled until another strong ruler succeeded to subdue them Though the usual punishment for rebellion was indiscriminate slaughter and slavery yet the Hindu spirit was never broken Muslim supremacy was challenged again and again notably in the times of Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq and often with success Finally after Tamerlane s invasion in 1398 the Saiyid kings authority ran only within a few miles of Delhi and the rest of India was independent

These constant revolts had two important results The first was a series of Rajput migrations which were themselves to some extent the result of the Rajput feudal system Though Rajputs are anything but nomadic, yet when compelled by circumstances to leave their home they have often moved in a body like a Tartar horde, to find fresh homes elsewhere Thus we find Janwars Dikhits Chauhans, Raikwars Bais Chandels Gaharwars all moving eastward during the 13th century to escape the Muslim invaders, and in the process coming into conflict with Bhars, Pasis, Arakhs, Kols, and other Dravidian races who had ruled the land for many years and whom the Rajputs had to dispossess before they could settle down in their present habitations

11 Rajput migrations

As has been explained above Balban was one of the kings in whose time Hindu rebellion was most widespread and most serious He suppressed successive revolts with the utmost severity but to prevent their recurrence he also adopted the system of

12 Muhammadan settlement

Crooke N W Provinces of India (1897), p 86.

building forts and blockhouses all over the country, especially along the roads, which he garrisoned with Afghan troops. Most of the Muhammadan colonies, which were planted on the Roman system to keep the Hindu population in subjection, also date from this period Such were the Muslim colonies at Jarwal in Bahraich, at Birhar in Fyzabad, at Bilgram, Gopamau, and Mallanwan, all in Hardoi. There were of course also many considerable towns under Muslim governors, such as Saharanpur, Farrukhabad, and Ghazipur, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, and other towns in Rohilkhand, Bahraich and Fyzabad in Oudh; and Banda in Bundelkhand But the chiefs and governors in charge of these settlements often proved as troublesome and as rebellious as the Hindus whom they were supposed to watch At first, they were mainly Turks, but under Muhammad Tughlaq Turks were replaced by foreign adventurers of all races—Persians, Afghans, Khorasanis, and Moghuls

13 *Moghul irruptions*

In 1221 occurred the first irruption of the Moghul hordes[1] into India, under the famous Changiz Khan. This irruption was 'the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge They had no religion to teach, no seeds of improvement to sow . . , their only object was to slaughter and destroy, and the only trace they left was in the devastation of every country which they visited '[2] They were, in short, the merest savages, similar to, possibly more savage than, their predecessors and kinsmen, the Huns On this occasion they did relatively little damage, for their advance was stopped by the Indus, and they turned aside into Iraq But though by 1240 A D they were masters of the greater part of western and central Asia, India offered

[1] The term Moghul is generally used of these invaders, but it is not always correct For instance, Timur himself and most of his troops were Turks, whilst the invasion of 1245 into N-E India (if it occurred at all), was probably of Manchus Turk, Moghul or Mongol, and Manchu are all branches of the same stock, and the first two, at all events, are often confused

[2] Elphinstone, op cit, Vol II, p 5

an irresistible attraction and the Moghul invasions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries numbered sixteen [1] Their object was not conquest but plunder they caused endless loss of life endless destruction of property and untold misery But even the Amir Timur (Tamerlane) who took and sacked Delhi in 1398 made no attempt to settle in India He retreated leaving no trace of his passage save ruined cities But he had crushed the Delhi kingdom The Saiyid kings (1414 1450) ruled Delhi itself and the immediate neighbourhood The Lodis (1450-1526) managed to regain a portion of their predecessors domains but the rest of India was ruled by Hindu princes and Muslim governors who were practically independent

14 The Moghul Empire

In 1526 Babar King of Kabul and fifth in descent from Tamerlane, entered India took Delhi and dispossessed Ibrahim the last Lodi king By his death in 1530 he had defeated a Rajput confederacy led by the Rana of Chithor and extended his power as far as Multan and the borders of Bihar Humayun his son was deprived of Kabul and the western Punjab which passed to his brother and rival Kamran; whilst in the east he had to face the powerful Afghan kingdom of Bengal under Sher Shah He was forced by that king to fly for his life into Persia and for some fourteen years was an exile during which time however he succeeded in regaining the Kabul kingdom He ultimately defeated the Bengal Afghans at Panipat in 1556 Dying the same year he was succeeded by Akbar, who in a long reign of 49 years restored the Muslim dominions from Kandahar and Kabul across all India north of the Vindhyas, as far east as Orissa and as far west as Sind Jahangir (1605 1628) added little to his father s kingdom but Shah Jahan (16 8-1658) extended his

[1] 122 1239; 245 (two invasions, one from Tibet into N E. India) 1253 1279 1292; 295 296; 297 1303; 304 (two invasions); 305; 13 5 1398 The facts and dates come from Elphinstone, op cit

boundaries into the Deccan, whilst Aurangzeb (1658-1707), conquered Golconda and Bijapur in the south, and as far as Assam in the east Under this emperor, the Moghul empire reached its widest limits, but its decay also began The Marathas became a powerful military nation, which Aurangzeb never subdued, whilst his internal policy was such as to alienate the loyalty of his Hindu subjects His six successors were all mere puppets under the control of various adventurers The empire once again broke up into independent kingdoms The Rajputana princes regained their freedom, the Sikhs revolted, the Marathas overran southern India, seized Malwa and Orissa, and levied blackmail on Bengal Finally, the Moghul empire virtually came to an end, when Shah Alam II entered the British camp after the battle of Buxar in 1764, and became a pensioner of the East India Company

15 Afghan invasions

During the first quarter of the 18th century, the Ghilzais, an Afghan tribe, had overrun Persia They were defeated and driven forth by Nadir Shah, a Persian adventurer, who then conquered Afghanistan and led a host of Persians and Afghans into India, took Delhi, and, after a sack that lasted 58 days, retired with an enormous booty He was succeeded by Ahmad Shah Abdali, who, having made himself master of Afghanistan, changed the name of his tribe to Durani On six occasions he invaded India, pillaged and slaughtered in city and countryside alike, and then retired to his mountains Finally, he met the Maratha forces at Panipat in 1761, and, though he defeated them, he retreated, never to enter India again

16 Muslim ethnology
(a) The early Muslim invaders

As has already been stated, the kings of the House of Ghazni were Turks by extraction, though probably their blood was mixed by intermarriage, Sultan Mahmud's mother, for instance, was a Persian During his reign, the civil administration was entirely in the hands of Persians, Persian was the language of the court and of literature, though Arabic

was used for certain important documents and, no doubt, in religion Lawyers, teachers and divines were generally Arabs or of Arab descent The army was recruited from all parts of the kingdom they were principally Turks and Afghans but contingents of Arabs, Tajiks Khiljis, and even Hindus, are all mentioned Only the Hindus and possibly some of the Turki soldiery, were not Muslims Such was the composition of the Muhammadan court and army in Mahmud s time such it remained when under the later Ghaznavides, court and army migrated to India ' The influx of foreigners continued under the Ghori and Delhi kings for they continued to recruit their Muslim troops from the tribes across the Indus to which by descent they themselves belonged

(b) Moghul settlements

Though the Moghul hordes invariably retired, contingents remained behind to take service in the Muhammadan armies As early as 1286 we hear of a massacre of Moghul mercenaries in the course of a political intrigue In 1292 after a defeat 3,000 Moghuls were converted, joined the army and were assigned a suburb of Delhi for their residence which is still called Moghulpura In 1297 these men or others like them, mutinied and joined a rebel Hindu raja, being put to death when the raja was defeated They were in fact the cause of constant trouble so much so that in 1311 the King (Ala-ud-din Khilji) as a result of a plot to assassinate him in which some of them were implicated caused the whole number some 15 000 to be put to death and their families to be sold as slaves It would seem however that at a later date they were again enlisted in the army for two other mutinies in which they took part occurred in 1347 and 1351 whilst the chiefs of these converted Moghuls were men of some position being known as *amir jadida* (new nobility) In fact there can be little doubt that long before Babar conquered Delhi in 1526 numerous Moghuls had taken up their residence in the country thus adding one more racial element to the already diversified Muslim population

18 (c) *The Timurid Dynasty*

Timur, ancestor of the Moghul emperors, was not himself a Moghul, but a Turk, of the Chagatai branch Babar, fifth in descent from Timur, was half Turk, half Moghul, being descended on his mother's side from Chagatai Khan, son of Changiz Khan, from whom the Chagatai Turks took their name, as inhabitants of the tracts in Transoxiana which had formed part of his heritage But whatever Babar was by descent, in all other respects he was an educated Persian gentleman, indeed, he both loathed and despised the Moghuls [1] Of his successors, Humayun's mother was a Persian lady of Herat, whilst Akbar's was a Syudani of Khorasan The mothers of Jahangir and Shah Jahan were both Rajput princesses—indeed, the last mentioned king and his successor had far more Rajput than Moghul blood in their veins

19 (d) *The Moghul army*

Babar, when he invaded India, was a king of much the same estate as Mahmud of Ghazni, both ruled small realms in the Afghan hills And Babar's army was similar to that of Mahmud's, being composed of Turks, Moghuls, Afghans, Tajiks and Persians In Humayun's time, however, the loss of Kabul closed the Afghan and Central Asian recruiting fields to the Moghul emperors, until Akbar, in the latter half of his reign, succeeded in reconquering Kabul and Kandahar From that time onwards till the reign of Aurangzeb, fresh immigrants from Central Asia constantly entered India, and we read of Afghan, Persian, Moghul and Uzbeg contingents in the Delhi armies, as well as Saiyids, Shaikhs, Rajputs, and (among the infantry) other Indian races of lower

[1] As is shown by the following epigram, written by Babar himself

'Were the Mongols a race of angels, it would still be a vile nation,
Were their name written in gold, it would still be abomination
Beware you pluck not a single ear from a Mongol field,
For whatever is sown with Mongol seed has an odious yield '

Lane-Poole, *Babar*, p 58

status both Muslim and Hindu The Uzbegs were a Turki clan that had risen to prominence at the end of the 15th century in Transoxiana there was a large contingent of them at the battle of Samugarh in 1658 [1]

10 The Moghul court

The Moghul court under Akbar and his two successors was heterogeneous to a degree High positions were held by Persians such as Faizi and Abul Fazl by Rajputs, such as Man Singh and Bhagwan Das by other Hindus such as Birbal and Todar Mal by converted Hindus such as Sadullah and by Uzbegs such as Abdullah Khan and Khanzaman Akbar in the course of his religious investigations, also made friends of divines of every conceivable sect—Muslims, Hindus, Jains Parsis and Jesuits from Goa whilst there were also numerous foreigners—English Dutch Portuguese, French and Armenian—at his court or that of his successors [2]

11 General relations between Hindus and Muslims before the Moghul Empire

Until the later Tughlaq period Islam in India remained on the whole, an isolated community observing strictly their rules of religious and social law And this isolation was preserved by the constant stream of foreign immigrants who came to swell the Muslim armies During this period the general attitude of Muslim to Hindu was one of somewhat contemptuous but good natured tolerance From time to time either for reasons of policy or bigotry a sultan such as Ala ud-din or Muhammad Tughlaq might oppress them by heavy taxation or more direct methods whilst at all times Hindus were liable to

[1] According to Bernier the term Moghul in common parlance was used as a general term for foreigners whose complexions were white and who professed Islam, i.e. for all foreigners from Persia and Central Asia. Bernier *Travels* 2nd edition, revised by V A. Smith (1914), p. 3

[2] Some of the most prominent names of visitors to the court are as follows —Jains—Hiravijaya Suri Vijayasena Suri Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya; Parsis—Dastur Meherji Rana; Jesuits—Ridolfo Aquaviva, Antonio Monserrate, Jerome Xavier Emmanuel Pinheiro and Francisco Corsi English—Captain William Hawkins, John Mildenhall Tom Coryat, and Sir Thomas Roe with his chaplain the Rev Edward Terry Frenchmen—Bernier and Tavernier

name of the third dynasty s
could rise Many Hindu slaves shows to what heights a slave
or generals or wazirs But the sys thus became governors
In 1387, for instance, there was a system had its drawbacks
the slaves in Delhi whilst there is formidable rebellion of
ence of converted or nominally con no doubt that the influ
in the court of the later Tughlaq kin verted, Hindu slaves
with the Hindu rebellions of that periods had much to do
1561 Akbar prohibited the enslaving of od And when in
in war he removed a source of constant prisoners taken
peace of his empire it danger to the

Secondly the slave system had a conside

3 Conversion

on the composition of rable influence
population both by means of the Muslim
and of intermarriage The cu of conversion
original Arab Muslims was to offer a foe that pm of the
mitted the choice of conversion or the payment of had sub-
a foe that had resisted was slain or enslaved — I tribute
record that Muhammad ibn Kasim actually dealt with is on
Hindus in Sind in this manner Later conquerors with the
ever seem to have been as a rule less fanatical how
said that Sultan Mahmud never attempted to mak It is
willing converts though he broke the idols he sp un
the idolators Shahab-ud-din Ghori on the other hand red
did try to force Islam on the Hindus Those who and
wise and acute were converted to Islam but those were
stood by their ancient faith were slain by the sword who
This statement was made of the capture of Koil but w[1]
doubtless true of other towns But there is nothing as
show that his successors followed his example and since
there were few bigots amongst them we may reasonably
conclude that forced conversion was unusual or even un
known The following quotation which relates to the
capture of Kalinjar probably represents what usually
happened — The temples were converted into mosques
and abodes of goodness and the ejaculations of the bead
counters and the voices of the summoners to praye
ascended to the highest heaven and the very name o

[1] Quoted in Crooke *N W Provinces* *J India* (1897) p. 84.

of Hindu slaves in the harems and where the union was more than mere concubinage must usually have been preceded by conversion

5 Relations of the Moghul Emperors to Hinduism

As has already been explained above, the recruiting grounds of Central Asia were for many years closed to Akbar This was undoubtedly one of the reasons which dictated his policy of toleration towards Hindus As early as 1562 he married the daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur the mother of Jahangir At the same time he conferred high office on Man Singh a relation of the Raja Shortly afterwards he abolished the pilgrim taxes and the *jaziya* or capitation tax on Hindus, throughout his dominion It was about the same time that he prohibited the ancient custom of making slaves of prisoners taken in war a reform which though not limited to any one class, was in practice mainly beneficial to Hindus At a still later date after he had invented his own religion he passed other enactments, all of which had the effect of giving Hindus and other infidels the right to worship or build temples, as they pleased These measures reconciled the Hindus to his rule whilst the Rajputs became his staunch supporters His army was very largely recruited from their ranks and they fought bravely for him in all his wars His two successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued his policy Aurangzeb, however, a fanatical puritan reversed it He reimposed most of the Hindu disabilities including the special taxation which Akbar had abolished with the result that discontent and disaffection spread amongst the Hindus The Rajputs were alienated once and for all whereas they had been under Akbar and his two successors, the principal prop of the monarchy they were from this time forward frequently at war with the Moghul emperors and even when they were at peace, seldom furnished them with troops or assisted them in any way Aurangzeb in short in his fanaticism undid all that Akbar had done to weld the two races into one and the results of his policy persist to the present day

Turkman is little more than a generic term for an inhabitant of Central Asia who is of Tartar descent Finally Qizilbash[1] are supposed to be a tribe of Tartar horsemen from the Eastern Caucasus, who formed the best troops in the Persian armies, and of the force with which Nadir Shah conquered Delhi In fact, it would seem that the name Moghul must be regarded as used in the wide sense which according to Bernier was prevalent in the 17th century in India—namely any foreigner who professed Islam and had a fair complexion such as Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Uzbegs or their descendants

The word Pathan is a Hindi corruption of a Persian word Pakhtana or Pashtana, which 18 *Pathan* means speakers of the Pashtu language It is popularly applied to all tribes whose present or original homes are on or near the north west boundaries of India A synonym is Afghan a Persian word of which the meaning is uncertain another is Rohilla or Ruhela which means highlander' Of these three Afghan is much the oldest term for Pathan is not found in literature till the 16th century, and Rohilla till the 18th Both Afghan and Rohilla are now used with restricted meanings Afghan is a polite designation in favour with educated persons, or those who are proud of their descent Rohilla is either a generic term for the Pathan inhabitants of the tract called Rohilkhand, or the name of a separate Pathan clan descended from the original Pathan settlers in that tract[2]

Pathan or Afghan ethnology has formed the subject of many books,[3] and given rise to many 19 *Pathan ethnology* theories Afghan tradition traces both name and descent to Afghana, grandson of King Saul of Israel, and relates that

[1] Red-heads from the red caps that they wore

[2] The clan if it really exists as a separate entity is of recent origin. The great majority of Rohilkhand Pathans can and do claim descent from older clans.

[3] Bellew *Races of Afghanistan*; Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnology* Malleson *History of Afghanistan* Raverty Translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* Longworth-Dames, 'Afghanistan in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*—are only some of these.

the original tribes were transplanted from Syria by Nebuchadnezzar to various colonies in India and Persia, whence they escaped into the Ghor and Hazara country.[1] But these legends can safely be discarded, they are of literary origin, and date back no further than the end of the 16th century, being examples of the practice, common among Musalmans outside Arabia, of claiming descent from the Prophet or some personage in the sacred books The genealogies which depend upon these legends have indeed a certain evidential value, for in their earlier stages they inform us of the beliefs held three centuries ago of the relationship between the various tribes, and in their later stages they may be taken as historically accurate Further, they afford, after their own fashion, some proof of the only fact that can be regarded as certain in Afghan ethnology—namely that the Afghan race is extremely heterogeneous[2] For Afghanistan lies between three widely different races—Iranian, Indo-Aryan, and Tartar It has been included in the dominions of Persian, Greek, Bactrian, Indian, Arab, Turk, and Moghul rulers Through its passes have poured all the armies and hordes that have invaded

[1] It is on this legend, reinforced by various other arguments, that has been founded the famous but fantastic theory that the Afghans represent the ten lost tribes of Israel Unfortunately, it was not Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, but Sargon, King of Assyria, who led the ten tribes into captivity

[2] It is unnecessary to give the genealogy at length, but a brief description, dealing only with the tribes represented in the United Provinces, will be of interest Kais Abdul Rashid, lineal descendant of King Saul and ally of the Prophet, had three sons by the daughter of Khalid ibn Walid, a Qureshi Arab, and first apostle to the Afghans The eldest, Sarban, had two sons, Sharkhbun and Kharshbun From the former are descended Tarin, Durani, Barech, and Barakzai From the latter are descended Muhammadzai, Yusufzai, Khalil, Mohmand, and Daudzai The second son of Kais, by name Batan, had a daughter, Bibi Matto, who married Shah Husain Ghori, from whom descend Lodi and Ghilzai From the third son, Ghorgusht, descend Ghorgushti and Kakar Finally, Urmur, a son of Sharkhbun, adopted Karlani, from whom descend Dilazak, Orakzai, Afridi, Khatak, and Bangash Descent through a daughter clearly suggests mixed blood, adoption suggests affiliation of tribes of different blood It is possible, also, that the main stocks—Sharkhbuni, Kharshbuni, and Ghorgushti—represent different racial elements.

India In such circumstances, its population must necessarily be an amalgam of diverse racial elements And there is sufficient definite proof of this assertion For instance, as early as Sultan Mahmud and as late as Babar we hear of Iranian Tajiks in Afghanistan The present Peshawar district was at an early date, the home of an Indian tribe the Gandhari During the 11th and 12th centuries both Khilji Turks and Ghuzz Turkmans were settled there Khalil ibn Abdulla and his Arabs made a home there, when they left Kabul Finally Pashtu, the language of the country, is a mixture of Iranian Persian, and Hindi with Turkish and Arabic elements

30. Pathans in the United Provinces

Pathans are found all over the province, except in the hill districts they are most numerous in Rohilkhand, Oudh and Allahabad, all tracts of special importance in Muslim history Out of a total of over 700 000 more than half belong to four clans—Yusufzai Lodi, Ghori and Kakar

31 Principal Pathan tribes

(1) The *Yusufzai* are considered by Ibbetson to be descended from the old Indo-Aryan Gandharis There was a large contingent of them in Babar s army (1526) whilst they gave a great deal of trouble to Akbar, defeating one of his armies and killing his favourite Raja Birbal At a later date, they must have frequently taken service under the Moghul emperors, for they are now to be found in every district in the province

(2) The *Lodi* are descended from the traditional ancestor, Kais Abdul Rashid [1] only through the female side, which suggests that there is a large foreign, probably Tajik, element in the tribe They have given two important dynasties to India the Lodi kings of Delhi (1450-1526) and the Sur kings of Bengal (1540-1556) It is natural therefore that their numbers should be large; indeed during the period of their ascendancy, it seems probable that many entire families emigrated They are

[1] See note 2 on p. 179.

most numerous in the eastern districts, where the Sur kings reigned. A certain number of them are engaged in the carrying trade between Central Asia and Afghanistan, and India.[1]

(3) The *Ghoris'* descent is dubious According to tradition, they seem to be a mixture of Arab and Gandhari stock,[2] at all events, they were undoubtedly a hybrid race, and contained a large Tajik element The second Muslim dynasty belonged to this tribe; the numerous Ghoris that are found to-day all over the province are, without doubt, the descendants of the Ghori kings' followers, whether Tajiks, Turks or Afghans.

(4) *Kakar* The Kakar tribe belongs to a small group of tribes claiming descent from the traditional ancestor through his third son Ismail, nicknamed Ghorgusht. According to one theory, the tribe is of Scythian origin; according to another, Ghorgusht is only an altered form of Ghirghis, or Kirghiz, and points to a Tartar or Turki origin Of these theories, all that need be said is that, whilst Turk is less unlikely than Scythian, there is no proof of either The Kakars seem to have entered India mainly under the Sur dynasty of Bengal, which would explain why they are most numerous in the eastern districts

32 Other Pathan tribes

There are representatives of many other tribes in the province, which, though less numerous, are interesting They fall into four groups, as follows (1) the Ghilzai, akin to the Lodis; (2) the Mohmand and Muhammadzai, akin to the Yusufzai, (3) the Tarin, Durani, Barakzai, and Barech; (4) the Afridi, Bangash, Dilazak, Khatak, and Orakzai.

[1] Their interest in trade may be due to their Tajik blood At the present day, as in past centuries, the Tajik, whether in Afghanistan or Bokhara, freely engages in trade and industry

[2] Ghor is the traditional home of the 'pure' Afghan, who claims descent from King Saul History proves that it had a large Tajik population, there were many Tajiks in Shahab-ud-din's army Probably, therefore, the mixture is of Arab (or other Muslim invader) and Tajik, rather than Gandhari

(1) Th Ghilzai, like the Lodi, are descended from the traditional ancestor through the female side only They are usually but wrongly identified with the Khilji Turks But it seems probable that some of their sections are of Turki, whilst others may be of Tajik origin Large numbers of them accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni into India At a much later date many of them followed Nadir Shah Like the Lodi many of them are engaged in the carrying trade

(2) The Mohmand and Muhammadzai both seem to have been engaged in the Yusufzai revolt against Akbar in 1586 It is not clear when they came into India but, being most numerous in Rohilkhand, they were probably attracted thither when the Rohillas became powerful

(3) Tarin Durani Barakzai, and Barech belong to the most senior branch in the Afghan genealogy, and are the purest of pure Afghans The Durani was the tribe to which the last invader of India belonged Barech was the tribe of the famous Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan Otherwise, they are of little importance in India They are most common in Rohilkhand

(4) Afridi Bangash Dilazak, Khatak and Orakzai are closely connected in the Afghan genealogy as Karlani or adopted tribes This, of course suggests that they are of different blood to the rest of the tribes For instance the Afridi are usually identified with the Aparytae of Herodotus If the identification is correct they are descended from mild peace loving and contemplative Indo-Aryan Buddhists, which scarcely seems a suitable ancestry for the Afridis The Bangash claim to be Qureshi Arabs, descended from Khalid ibn Walid the first apostle of Islam to the Afghans, whose daughter married Kais Abdul Rashid The Orakzai are certainly of very mixed extraction—according to their own account part Persian, part Hindu The Afridi and Bangash seem first to have entered India about the time of Akbar when they are found in the army The Bangash, under the later Moghul emperors, acquired considerable estates as Nawabs of Farrukhabad The Khataks were prominent from the time of Aurangzeb many followed

Ahmad Shah Durani into India. It is not clear when the Orakzai and Dilazak entered India; the former probably accompanied the Bangash, whilst there is a story that the latter caused so much trouble in their attempts to recover territory that they had lost to the Yusufzai, that Jahangir deported them *en masse* to India.

33 *Saiyid and Shaikh*

In this province, as in other parts of India, there are many families and tribes which claim to be of Arab stock. Those of them which also claim descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fatima and Ali are called Saiyids, an Arabic title which means 'prince': the others are known as Shaikhs, another Arabic title meaning 'chief'. We have first to consider how these Arab immigrants found their way into India.

34 *The Arab ethnic element*

The only Arab invasion of India was that which Muhammad ibn Kasim led into Sind in the 8th century, and, as has been said, its success was only partial, and its effects purely local. On the other hand, by the end of the same century, Persia, Central Asia as far as the Jaxartes, and parts of Afghanistan were all included in the Arab empire, held by Arab troops, and overrun by Arab settlers. Many of them were soldiers,—we find, for instance, a large contingent of Arab cavalry in Sultan Mahmud's army. It was they, too, who provided the king with his lawyers, divines, teachers, doctors, and statesmen. These Arab settlers, of course, intermarried with the natives of the various countries in which they had made their homes: for there was nothing in the law of Islam to prevent such unions, at all events if conversion had preceded the union, whilst there is definite evidence to show that they did occur at a later date. When Turk and Afghan and Moghul invaders poured into India, the descendants of these Arab settlers followed, to carry on in India the same pursuits that they had carried on in Persia and elsewhere. An examination of the facts recorded in the various district gazetteers shows that, from the time of Sultan Mahmud to the late Moghul emperors, there was a constant influx of

individuals and families, some classed as Saiyids, others as Shaikhs, but all claiming Arab descent, and in most cases hailing immediately from Persia and Central Asia [1] As a class, they rendered valuable service to the State both in peace and in war They, and their descendants after them were *qazis*, and *muftis*, and *maulvis* indeed, in some families the title, if not the post seems to have been hereditary There were also Shaikh and Saiyid contingents in the armies whilst the famous Saiyids of Barha[2] were known for their bravery throughout India And many of them rose[3] to great eminence There was a Saiyid dynasty there were many Shaikh and Saiyid generals and governors and statesmen, of whom the great est were the brothers Hasan Ali (or Abdulla) and Husain Ali the king-makers, who within two years put four emperors on the throne

35. Pseudo-Shaikhs and Saiyids

But considerable though the influx of such families has been it is none the less astounding to find that the Shaikhs and Saiyids of this province, taken together exceed the number of Pathans and Moghuls by fifty per cent The principal cause is undoubtedly to be found in the process described in the well-known Persian proverb—*peshayin qassab budem badanan gushtem Shaikh ghalla chun arzan shawad imsal Saiyid meshawem* — The first year I was a butcher, the next a Shaikh this year if prices fall I shall become a Saiyid In other words, there was a tendency for the parvenu to claim a higher lineage than his own

The Gorakhpur Saiyids come from Bokhara and Arabia; the Amroha Saiyids from Baghdad, being descended from the Abbasid Khalif; the Allahabad Saiyids from Medina and Persia; the Barabanki Saiyids from Ghazni, Naishapur, and elsewhere in Persia There are Saiyids from Naishapur also in Unao and Fyzabad. *There are Shaikhs from Baghdad* in Barabanki, Moradabad, Sitapur and Etawah; from Bokhara I Allahabad and Moradabad; from Arabia in Barabanki Lucknow Hardoi, and Partabgarh. These are mere instances; they do not exhaust the list.

This extraordinary family claims descent from Ali and Fatima. Their proximate ancestor was Abul Farah of Wasit in Persia, who came to India about the middle of the 13th century His descendants settled in Muzaffarnagar and Hardoi, where they are still located. Hasan Ali and Husain Ali were members of this family

Farrukhsiyar and his three successors (1719-20).

(c) *Descendants of other Imams than Ali Hasan and Husain* These are

(1) the Abidi from Ali Zain ul Abidin, fourth Imam
(2) the Baqri from Muhammad-al Baqir fifth Imam
(3) the Jafari from Jafar-as-Sadiq sixth Imam
(4) the Kazimi from Musa-al Kazim seventh Imam
(5) the Rizwi or Razwi from Ali ibn Musa-ar Raza, eighth Imam
(6) the Taqwi from Muhammad-at Taqi ninth Imam
(7) the Naqwi from Ali-an-Naqi tenth Imam
(8) the Askari, from Hasan-al-Askari, eleventh Imam[1]

All the Imams were direct descendants of Ali through Husain

(d) *Descendants of other ancestors* These are the Abbasi, the Hashimi the Siddiqi and the Razzaqi

(e) *Sections named after religious teachers* The Jalali the Qadiriya and the Chishti The teachers are respectively Saiyid Jalal-ud-din of Bokhara Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, and Saiyid Abu Ishaq of Chist in Khorasan

57 Saiyid lineage

Strictly speaking the term Saiyid is a title belonging only to the Prophet s family (*khandan i nabuwat*) his descendants through his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali his first cousin And most of the Saiyid clans can rightfully use that title The ancestry of all the clans included in the first and third groups is beyond question as is also that of the Razzaqis, who are descended from Abdul Razzaq, son of the famous saint Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, who belonged to the Hasani Husainis The four sections named after places can fairly be regarded as local sub-divisions of some primary section such as the Bani Fatima But the case of the Chishti Jalali and

[1] According to one school of Shias, there were twelve Imams; the first three Imams were Ali Hasan, and Husain. The last Imam, Muhammad-al-Mahdi disappeared at a tender age, and according to the popular belief will reappear; so that he would have no descendants and no section is named after him.

Qadiriya Saiyids is not quite so clear They take their names from three Saiyid saints or teachers, each of whom also founded a sect of faqirs, which are also called respectively Chishti, Jalali and Qadiriya There has consequently been some confusion between sect and section, even Crooke describes the Chishti section of Saiyids as 'followers' of a Chishti saint [1] But the Chishtis of Bijnor, where they are most numerous, claim not spiritual but physical kinship with Abu Ishaq, as members of the same family and consequently Saiyids. And we can probably assume that the same is true of the Jalalis and Qadiriyas.

None of the four remaining clans appear to be descendants of Fatima Abbasi, Hashimi and Siddiqi are sectional names amongst Shaikhs as well as Saiyids but the two must not be confused The Abbasi Shaikhs, for instance, claim as their eponymous ancestor, Abbas, paternal uncle of the Prophet, who gave his name to the Abbasid dynasty the Abbasi Saiyids of Allahabad are descended from another Abbas, Ali's armour-bearer We know nothing of the origin of the Hashimi[2] or Siddiqi Saiyids The Alwis claim descent from Muhammad ibn-al-Hanafiya, the son of Ali by a wife of the Bani Hanifa tribe, and a prominent figure in the early history of Islam Alwi is also the name of a Shaikh section

38 Shaikh divisions

Most of the Shaikh sections take their name from an eponymous ancestor These are Abbasi, Jafari,[3] and Alwi, already explained, Hashimi, descendants of the Prophet's great grandfather, Siddiqi, named from the first Khalif, Abu Baqr-as-Siddiq; Bani Israil, or sons of Israel, Faruqi, from Khalif Umar,

[1] Incidentally, he mentions the wrong saint—not Abu Ishaq the founder, but his more famous disciple, Salim Chishti of Fatehpur-Sikri *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh*, s v 'Saiyyid'

[2] The only person in history likely to give the name Hashim to a Saiyid clan is Abu Hashim, son of Muhammad ibn-al-Hanafiya, who was leader of the Hashimiya Shias, and recognized as their Imam after his father's death

[3] The derivation here is probably not from the Imam, but from a cousin of Muhammad, well-known for his charity

nicknamed Faruq Sulaimani and Usmani from the third Khalif Faridi are the followers of the famous saint Baba Farid of Pak Pattan The Qidwai clan claims descent from one Qazi Qidwat a son of the King of Rum (Turkey) who came to India *via* Arabia in the time of Shahab-ud-din Ghori Ansari (the helpers) was the name given to the citizens of Medina after conversion [1] Qureshi was the Arab tribe to which the Prophet belonged Bahlim was another Arab tribe One section has a territorial name Khurasani Pirzada has already been explained Milki is merely an occupational title assumed in the east of the province, which means a landed proprietor By far the largest sections are the Siddiqi and Qureshi who account for over half of the total number of Shaikhs after them—*longo intervallo*—the Ansari Faruqi and Usmani Over 20 per cent of all Shaikhs in 1891 at the census could return no section at all and these have certainly no real right to the name But the proportion of pseudo-Shaikhs must greatly exceed 20 per cent if as is usually alleged [2] the convert used to adopt as his own the section of the *qazi* or *mufti* who admitted him to Islam

39. Racial elements in other Muhammadan group

There are many occupational groups which are entire ly Muhammadan whilst many Hindu castes, also mostly occupational have Muhammadan branches In all such groups, there are many sections with Hindu names which suggests that they are composed of ex-Hindu converts But invariably there are also a certain number of sections with Muslim names Generally such sections would be descended from the Hindu slaves of Muslim masters, who on conversion had adopted as their own the tribe or sept to which their masters belonged But in some cases, the sections may actually be themselves of foreign descent There must, for instance have been Bhishtis in the camps of the Muslim invaders, and there is nothing surprising

[1] As opposed to the Mecca followers of Muhammad who were called Muhajirin, or exiles.

[2] e.g in the provincial district gazetteers, *passim*

in finding a whole series of Bhishti sections, the names of which suggest foreign descent—Arab sections such as Abbasi, Bahlimi, Faruqi, Qureshi, Saiyid, Siddiqi, and Shaikh, Afghan sections, such as Bangash, Ghori, and Pathan, Tartar sections, such as Begi, Moghul, Turki, and Turkman. The Muslim armies, again, must have had their own carriers of grain, fodder, and other necessities, it is natural to find a 'Turkiya' subdivision of the Banjara tribe, with sections such as Alwi, Bahlim, and Shaikh (Arab), Aghwan,[1] and Khilji (Turk). At the present time, of course, certainty is impossible in such a matter, but so much can safely be stated, that there must be many Muslims of foreign extraction in other than the four main groups

40 Islam and the caste system

According to Muhammadan doctrine, all free Muslims are equal A Muslim may marry any woman outside the prohibited degrees (which are much the same as in the English law), provided that she belongs to a 'scriptural' or revealed religion,[2] and though some kinds of food are forbidden, commensal restrictions are unknown. The Hindu caste system, therefore, is entirely incompatible with the tenets of Islam. And amongst those Muslims of foreign descent whose ancestors brought the religion of the Prophet into India, practice corresponds with theory Saiyid, Shaikh, Pathan, Moghul, are not castes, though usually spoken of as such, they are not even tribes. They are merely names given to groups of tribes that are, or are supposed to be, of similar blood.

41 Caste amongst converted Hindus, Crooke's statement

But the same cannot be said of Muslims that have been converted from Hinduism. 'Caste,' says Mr. Crooke, 'is not confined to votaries of the Hindu faith On the contrary, it is in its nature much more social than religious. It has been one of the most perplexing problems which beset

[1] A corrupt form of Afghan

[2] *Kitabi*—follower of a religion possessing a sacred and revealed book, namely, a Muslim, Jew, or Christian, but not a Hindu, Parsi, or Buddhist

the Christian missionary to reconcile the restrictions of caste with the perfect liberty of Christianity Islam has boldly solved the difficulty by recognizing and adopting caste in its entirety Not only does the converted Rajput, Gujar, and Jat remain a member of his original sept or section but he preserves most of those restrictions on social intercourse intermarriage and the like which make up the peasant s conception of caste As Mr. Ibbetson remarks[1] Almost the only difference which the convert makes is to shave his scalp-lock and the upper edge of his moustache, to repeat the Muhammadan creed in a mosque and to add the Muhammadan to the Hindu marriage ceremony

4. Criticism of Crooke's statement

This statement requires considerable modification In the first place no convert could remain a member of his original sept or section for his conversion would automatically involve his outcasting He might no doubt retain the name of that sept or section but he must henceforth look for his wife and his friends outside it Secondly, the importance of these deviations from Muslim law or custom varies greatly In many cases, they amount to little more than a preference for a Hindu mode of address, such as Thakur or for buttoning the coat in the Hindu fashion on the left side, instead of in the Muhammadan fashion on the right And thirdly, the statement is not universally true There are many converts from Hinduism—especially those whose conversion is of old standing or who have some reason for desiring to conceal their Hindu past—who are strict and even bigoted in their observances of the tenets of Islam Nevertheless, it is true that many converts, when they changed their faith did not change or only partially changed their social customs In theory Islam should not admit the validity of any alien custom which is contrary to or in conflict with its own doctrines

[1] Later Sir Denzil Ibbetson author of various works on Punjab ethnography
Crooke *Tribes and Castes of the N.-W.P and Oudh* Vol. I (Introduction p. xvii.

But in practice, Islam has accepted the situation, indeed, every proselytizing religion must be prepared to compromise in such matters with its converts, if it is to retain them[1] In practice, too, the law courts have held more than once that a convert may carry his original laws and usages with him, and may be governed by them even after conversion

43 *The status of women in Islam*

It is necessary to explain the legal status of Muhammadan women, before describing the marriage customs which depend on it The woman's position under Muhammadan law is infinitely superior to that of her Hindu sister She remains under the parental roof and authority till she is of age, and during her minority her father has the power to give her in marriage without her consent But even that power is limited, for the guardian next in order to her father has the right to object if the marriage is prejudicial to her interests, and if any other guardian than the father gives her in marriage, she has an unqualified option to ratify or annul the marriage on attaining her majority She then acquires her own independent rights She shares in the inheritance of her parents with her brothers In no circumstances can she, when of age, be married without her own consent, on the other hand, she can marry whom she pleases, and unless the marriage is one of which the law disapproves, no man can interfere A Moslem marriage is a civil contract, which gives the husband only such power over the wife's person as the law defines, and none whatever over her goods or property The wife's identity is not merged in that of her husband She retains her own individuality, she remains mistress of her own estate, which she can alienate or divide at will Her earnings are her own, she can sue her own debtors, even

[1] Christianity has had to do so more than once—for instance, in connexion with the date of Christmas Day The 25th December at Rome was the birthday of the sun, a pagan festival which the early fathers could not keep their converts from celebrating, until (in St Augustine's words) Julius I changed 'the birthday of the sun' into 'the birthday of Him who made the sun'

her own husband and be sued by them It is true that she is kept in seclusion, but the *pardah* system is not enjoined by Muhammadan law indeed it only came into vogue about 744 being adopted from Persia and Byzantium as a safeguard against the habits of the Omayyad Khalif Walid II a depraved and tyrannical debauchee. The Muslims who uphold the custom refer to the Prophet s remarks on the privacy of women [1] but those were to the address of the Arab tribes with whom he was primarily concerned and cannot be regarded as warrant for its present existence Nor is there anything in Muhammadan law which makes its perpetuation necessary

44 Endogamy in Islam

Since, as has been stated above a Muslim may choose as a wife any woman outside the prohibited degrees who professes one of the three scriptural religions it would seem to follow that there can be no endogamy within the Muhammadan social system But that is a general proposition the law of Islam does not necessarily *approve* of every marriage or other act that it *permits* and has provided safeguards against those marriages of which it disapproves which have the effect of greatly reducing the circle within which a Muslim may select a wife Custom too steps in to contract that circle further still The legal restriction exists in both branches of Islam the Sunni and the Shia but is important only in the former The customary restriction exists amongst all Muhammadans alike

45 The legal restriction of al kafat among Sunnis

The Prophet seems to have had a horror of ill-assorted marriages—as was natural in view of the high respect in which he ordained that women should be held Take ye care said he that none contract women in marriage but their proper guardians and

[1] History shows that the women of the Prophet own family enjoyed no little freedom. His wife, Ayesha, led her own troops at the battle of the Camel in 656 gainst Ali Fatima, his daughter often took part in political discussions. And his granddaughter Zainab, faced her assailants fter the butchery of Kerbela in an attempt to save her nephew Husain's son (680).

that they be not so contracted except with their equals.'[1] On this saying the Hanafi school of Sunni law, which is the only Sunni school with a large following in this province, has built up the doctrine of *al kafat* (equality, i e. in marriage) This doctrine provides.—(1) that if a guardian (*wali*), even a father, contract a minor of either sex in marriage to anybody who is not his or her 'equal', then the marriage is invalid,[2] and can be annulled by the *qazi* on the application of the mother, of the guardian next in degree, or even of a friend, or on that of the minor when he or she reaches the age of discretion.[3]

(2) that if an adult woman, being *sui juris*, contracts herself in marriage to a man who is not her 'equal', the marriage may be annulled by the *qazi* on the application of any relative on her father's side who would have been her guardian for marriage (*wali*) had she been a minor—provided only that no such relative has already consented to the marriage, or that no child has already been born.

(3) that when an adult man marries a bride who is his inferior, the marriage is valid, because a man always raises his wife to his own rank, so that the marriage ceases to be unequal

Six ingredients are necessary to produce 'equality'. Both husband and wife must be (1) free, and (2) Muslims They must be equal in respect of (3) descent or lineage (*nasab*), (4) profession, (5) character (*hasab*), and (6) means[4] As regards *nasab*, certain rules of precedence are laid down, as follows:—

(*a*) An Arab is superior to an *ajami*, or non-Arab Muslim

[1] Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, 4th edition, Vol II, pp 413-414

[2] So Badr-ud-din-Tyabji, *Principles of Muhammadan Law*, 2nd edition, pp 152-156 Ameer Ali, op cit, p 414, holds that the marriage is invalid if the guardian is father or grandfather, but that if the guardian is any other relative, it is void *ab initio*

[3] Which in this case is puberty, i e 15 years

[4] Of these requisites, (1) freedom, at the present day, has no meaning, (2) a marriage with a Jewess or Christian is 'unequal', it would be valid, however, for an adult male, (4) profession includes trade or business, on the girl's side, of course, it would be the profession of her father or nearest male relative, (5) character includes morality and piety, (6) 'means', in practice, is confined to the man, and is interpreted as capacity to pay the dower and maintain a wife

(*b*) Amongst Arabs
  (i) the descendants of Ali[1] rank highest,
  (ii) the Qureshi rank above all other Arabs save Ali's descendants
(*c*) Descendants of the Khalifs, though born and bred in other countries, are equal to domiciled Arabs
(*d*) A learned *ajami* is the equal of an ignorant Arab, even if he be a descendant of Ali for the worth of learning is greater than the worth of family[2]
(*e*) Hanafis and Shafeis (another school of law) are equal
(*f*) A *qazi* or *faqih* (jurist or theologian) ranks higher than a merchant, and a merchant than a tradesman

46. Effect of al kafat on Sunni endogamy

So stands the Sunni law And prima facie, it might be expected that the strict observance of rules which limit a man's or woman's choice of a mate to families of lineage equal to his or her own must necessarily produce a system of endogamy as restrictive as that of Hinduism But that is not the case For in the first place, the rules of *al kafat* are not peremptory but permissive The unequal marriage is not void, but merely voidable at the option of certain persons and if no entitled person chooses to exercise his option the marriage stands Secondly the prohibition against an unequal marriage would as a rule only operate in respect of a man's first wife, for should he marry a second wife he would usually be of full age, and at liberty to marry beneath him if he chose; nor would the woman's *wali* object since a wife is raised to her husband's status[3] And thirdly *nasab* is not the

[1] Ali was husband of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet by his first wife Khadija.
[2] Ameer Ali op. cit. p. 416.
[3] A man could not, however marry a woman of higher rank than himself.

only criterion of 'equality'. As we have seen, it was laid down in ancient times that learning could override birth, so that a low-born scholar could marry a woman of high rank;[1] and at the present day the *wali* who had to select a bride or bridegroom for his ward would certainly attach as much weight to the candidate's *hasab* and to his other personal qualifications as to his *nasab*. In short, the restrictions of *al kafat* are neither rigid, nor universal, nor dependent on birth alone; whilst the endogamous restrictions of Hinduism are all of these.

47 Sunni endogamous groups

Nor can it be said that the rules of *al kafat* have resulted in the formation of endogamous groups. It is, no doubt, possible to arrange the existing Muslim tribes in certain groups, according to their precedence. The first group would then consist of 'descendants of Ali'—all Saiyids, and the Alwi Shaikhs. The second would include the 'Qureshi' sections—the Qureshi Shaikhs, and other Shaikh sections that are descended from individual Quresh—i.e. Abbasi, Faruqi, Hashimi, Jafari, Siddiqi, and Usmani.[2] The third would include all other Shaikhs of true Arab descent. The fourth would be *ajamis*—Pathans and Moghuls. The fifth would be the pseudo-Shaikhs. But though it is probably true that no member of such a group would, in ordinary circumstances, marry without it, yet it could not be asserted that he never would marry without it in *any* circumstances. Such a grouping would be purely theoretical. And, indeed, it is doubtful whether *al kafat*, at the present time, has much practical importance, except for those who strictly observe the written law. For the ordinary man, the question of a potential bride or bridegroom's suitability is decided on its merits, when the

[1] At the present time, learning (in the shape of a degree) would probably still have its value in the appraisement of a matrimonial candidate's qualifications.

[2] Abbasi and Hashimi are descended from Muhammad's paternal uncle and great-grandfather, Jafari from his cousin (Ali's brother), the other three from the first three Khalifs.

question arises, and equality of birth is usually secured in quite another manner, which will be presently described

48 Al kafat among Shias

Shias do not approve of marriages with any but Muhammadan women, except in the *muta*, or temporary form On the other hand, they hold to the principle that all Muslims are equal and have consequently whittled down *al kafat* to two requisites only, namely, Islam and means So long as the bridegroom is able to maintain a wife a union between any Muslim and any Muslimah is valid however unequal they may be in rank or descent It is lawful for a free woman to marry a slave, for an Arabian woman to marry a Persian, or for a woman of the tribe of Hashimi to marry a non Hashimite, and *vice versa* Amongst Shias, therefore, this doctrine has no effect on marriage save that it makes Islam taken as a whole, endogamous Shias, however, form a very small minority in the province There are under 200 000 Shias to over five million Sunnis

49 The marriage circle

Both amongst Sunnis and Shias it is the custom to select a wife whenever possible, from a relatively small circle of close relations, including not only a man s own family but families with which his own has in the past intermarried This custom is probably due to the peculiarities of the Muhammadan law of inheritance, and is very strictly observed Any attempt to depart from it is likely to lead to family dissension as is proved by information that I received in 1911 from a Government officer—a Saiyid and I believe, a Shia His own circle consisted of relatives living in a few neighbouring villages When the time came for his daughter s marriage he was anxious to go outside the circle to find a husband for being an educated man himself he wanted an educated son in law and none was available within the circle He was, however, compelled by family pressure to agree to his daughter s betrothal to an illiterate youth The natural result of this custom is that the

Ameer Ali, op. cit. p. 417 *note* (quotation from *Shareya*).
[1] *Census R port U.P* 1911 p. 223.

marriage of cousins is extremely common. No sort of cousin is within the prohibited degrees, my informant himself was married to a second cousin It may be mentioned, as a curious proof of the frequency of cousin marriage, that Muhammadans constantly address or describe their parents-in-law by the terms for the various kinds of uncle and aunt: the habit is natural because the parents-in-law so often *are* uncle and aunt. It is obvious that such a 'marriage circle' ensures equality of descent, and it is the only endogamous group of which a Muhammadan takes any account I am informed on good authority that these restrictions on marriage, whether dependent on the law of *al kafat* or on custom, are much more closely observed in the rural areas than in the towns.

50 Other Muhammadan marriage customs (a) Polygamy

The law of Islam permits polygamy to the extent of four wives, but the permission is conditional 'You *may* marry two wives, or three, or four, but not more, but if you cannot deal equitably or justly with all, you *shall* marry only one'[1] The condition is one that an ordinary man cannot possibly carry out, in a polygamous family, favouritism of some kind is unavoidable And as early as the 9th century, there were jurists who held that monogamy alone was lawful At the present day, the tendency, in advanced Muslim communities, is to regard polygamy as undesirable, if not positively unlawful, and that is the case in this province, where Muhammadans rarely contract a second marriage, unless no son has been born of the first This is proved by the census returns, the number of married women exceed the number of married men by between 2 and 3 per cent

51 (b) Remarriage of widows

The remarriage of widows is not only permitted by the law but enjoined in the Koran The first wife of the Prophet himself was a widow And since one contract has terminated by the death of one of the contracting parties, there is clearly no reason why the other

[1] Koran IV, 3

should not enter into another similar contract But such remarriage is uncommon, at all events amongst the better classes The usual explanation of this phenomenon is that it is due to imitation of the Hindu custom but since the interference with the widow s freedom which it involves is contrary to the principles underlying the marriage law the explanation is not convincing

52 (c) *Divorce* Divorce is permitted by the Muhammadan law that is merely the natural result of the conception of marriage as a contract But it is one of the permitted things that are not approved Divorce said the Prophet, is the most detestable before the Almighty God of all permitted things ;[1] and accordingly it is hedged about by many legal restrictions of all kinds In this province, divorce of a divorce In one case the dowry payable at divorce is most exceptional indeed, it becomes almost impossible as a result of the custom of demanding an enormous dowry at marriage which becomes payable only as the result by a husband whose entire income was some Rs 700 a month amounted to Rs 1 50 000 Sir Richard Burn states that about 1901, in connexion with a law suit on the question of dowry opinions were collected regarding the advisability of allowing courts to reduce excessive dowries and that all classes of Muhammadans unanimously condemned the proposal[2] which shows that in India at all events, the opinion held by the Prophet of divorce prevails

53 (d) *Mut or temporary marriages* The Akhbari school of Shias permit muta or temporary marriages—i.e marriages for a fixed period which may be as short as a day or as long as a century These are very unusual in the province though they may occasionally be used as a convenient cloak for unions of a more or less disreputable kind This custom too is subjected to many legal restrictions obviously if the period is sufficiently long, there is little

[1] Ameer Ali op. cit., p. 530.
[2] *Census Report U.P.*, 1901 p. 120.

practical difference between a *muta* and an ordinary marriage

54 The Muhammadan marriage ceremony

The marriage ceremony itself affords adequate evidence of the principles on which the marriage law is based The terms of the contract, including the dowry, are usually settled beforehand On the day appointed, the bridal parties assemble at the house of the bride's father The bride's *vakil,* or proxy, who is usually an elderly relative, visits her where she sits behind the *pardah,* with a woman attendant, and in the presence of two witnesses asks her permission to contract her in marriage to the bridegroom On receiving her reply, which is conveyed by the attendant, he returns and signifies the girl's consent to the parties. The *qazi*[1] then asks the bridegroom if he is content, and on receiving an affirmative reply performs the service This consists of the repetition in Arabic by the bridegroom after the *qazi,* of the Muhammadan creed and articles of belief, and a prayer of praise (*dua-kunat*) The *qazi* next causes the bridegroom to repeat after him in Arabic the formula of the marriage contract, and explains its meaning, which done, the *vakil* of the bride and the bridegroom clasp hands, and the former says, 'The bride (naming her and her father) has through my agency in the presence of two witnesses given her gracious consent to your marriage with her, and such a dowry is settled upon her, do you consent to it?' The bridegroom replies, 'With my whole heart and soul, to my marriage with this lady as well as to this settlement upon her, do I consent', and repeats the word 'consent' thrice. In conclusion, the *qazi* pronounces a blessing on the married pair The formal demand by the *vakil* of the bride's consent to the marriage (even if she be a minor), and the formal intimation of that consent to the bridegroom are both significant [2]

[1] Nowadays, the *qazi* is some man selected for his knowledge of the law, the post has been abolished Amongst Shias, the work of the *qazi* is done by the *mujtahid*

[2] Based partly on Ameer Ali, op cit, p 623, partly on information from a private source

55 *Castes of converts from Hinduism*

Apart from the four principal tribal divisions descended from Muhammadan invaders, there are a certain number of Muhammadan castes, a large number of Hindu castes that have Muhammadan branches, and a still larger number which possess a few members who have embraced Islam The census lists of 1901 showed in all 133 castes that were wholly or partially Muhammadan the lists of 1911 only showed 94, but a good many small castes had been thrown together under a single head Of these, 54 in 1901 and 41 in 1911 had less than 1,000 Muhammadan members and can be neglected altogether Certain other entries of 1901 may also be neglected for other reasons these are the Hijra, Kunera, Lakhera Kabariya, Nalband Nanbai Qalaigar Raj Rangsaz, and Habshi The Hijras are eunuchs they cannot obviously be counted a true caste The Habshis are descendants of Abyssinian slaves of the Oudh court now extinct The Nalband (farrier) Nanbai (baker) Qalaigar (tinsmith), Raj (mason) and Rangsaz (painter) are occupations, not castes The Kunera is really a Barhai subcaste Lakhera and Kabariya are merely other names for Churihar and Kunjra respectively

The rest can be divided into three classes —

(1) Castes now entirely Muhammadan though recruited partly or wholly from Hindu converts —These are the Atashbaz, Baidguar Bhand Bhathiyara, Bhishti [1]* Biloch, Bisati, Dafali * Dogar, Gaddi Gandhi, Gara, Ghogar * Ghosi * Hurkiya, Iraqi Jhojha Julaha * Kanmail * Khanzada Khumra * Kingariya Lalkhan Malkana, Mirasi * Nau-Muslim Niyariya * Pankhiya Qalandar * Qassab * Ranghar and Turk

(2) Castes with larger Muhammadan than Hindu branches —These are the Churihar * Darzi * Dhuniya,*

[1] The Muhammadan castes or branches which are marked with an asterisk possess permanent tribal councils. See Chapter VI par 4. The Ghogar and Kanmail are new castes; see Chapter XI, para. 9 and 11 for notes on them. There are also notes in the same chapter on the Chik, par 21; Khumra, par 27; Manihar and Churihar par 32

Kunjra,* Manihar,* Meo or Mewati, Rain, Rangrez, Saiqalgar and Tawaif

(3) Castes with larger Hindu than Muhammadan branches —These are the Ahir, Baghban, Baheliya, Banjara, Barhai, Bhangi, Bhat, Chamar, Chhipi, Chik, Dharhi, Dhobi, Dom, Goriya, Gujar, Halwai,* Jat, Kahar, Kamboh, Kumhar,* Lohar, Mali, Mallah, Mochi, Nai, Nat,* Rajput, Saini, Sonar, Tagh and Teli.

56 The marriage customs of ex-Hindu converts

In the matter of marriage the customs of communities descended from Hindu converts are often a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan rites. In the first place, contrary to Muhammadan custom, almost all of them are strictly endogamous; and many of them are divided into endogamous sections Amongst the Bhands, Gujars, and Rangrez, Sunnis and Shias do not intermarry—a curious pair of endogamous sections; and in the Saiqalgar caste there are two endogamous sections, Pathan and Shaikh The Dafali will not marry his daughter into families that reverence other saints, or godlings other than his own Muhammadan Rajputs preserve their Hindu rules of hypergamy, so do the Iraqi and the Gujar, in the shape of refusing to give daughters to families from which they have taken wives These two castes, with the Kunjra and Meo, also preserve the Hindu exogamous sections; whilst the Iraqi, Turk, Gandhi, Kunjra, Ghogar, and one or two more castes restrict the custom of cousin marriage—undoubtedly a reminiscence of their former Hinduism, and contrary both to Muhammadan law and custom Many castes, such as the Dafali, the Iraqi, the Churihar, the Dhuniya, the Kunjra, the Rangrez, and the Gujar, preserve more or less completely the Hindu wedding rites, save that the *qazi* replaces the *pandit,* and Allah, the Prophet, or some saint replaces the family godlings. The Bhat goes further still, he carries out first a Hindu wedding in its fullest form, and then follows it up by a Muhammadan ceremony Many castes still employ a Brahman *pandit* to fix an auspicious day for weddings and other ceremonies; such are the

Bhat the Dafali the Ghosi, the Gujar, the Iraqi, the Kingariya, the Meo and the Ranghar The rules of adoption amongst Iraqis and Dafalis, the rules of succession amongst Iraqis, Mukeri Banjaras, and Chunihars are much more Hindu than Muhammadan Many castes have altered the divorce law of Islam, permitting it only for infidelity, and as a rule only with the consent of the *panchayat* such are the Bhishti Chunihar Dafali Gandhi Iraqi Kingariya, Kunjra, and Rangrez whilst the Bhand, if a wife is divorced for infidelity does not allow her to remarry Most castes permit the remarriage of widows, but in almost every case the Hindu custom of the levirate also exists to modify it whilst the Gandhi forbids it altogether and the Iraqi only allows remarriage, whether of a widow or of a divorced wife with the consent of the *panchayat* The Kunjra permits a man to marry two sisters at once, which the law of Islam forbids In fact most of these castes of Hindu converts preserve some trace of their former marriage customs and many preserve a great deal

57 *Other customs of ex-Hindu converts*

But there are survivals of other Hindu customs too The Ghosi and Kingariya for instance, will neither eat beef themselves nor eat in the company of any Musulman who does Many drink liquor contrary to the law of the Prophet and some eat forbidden food Others maintain the Hindu taboos on the occasion of a death Many worship Hindu deities especially Kali and observe Hindu festivals The Bhand worships a deified ancestor Saiyid Hasan the Bhishti worships his *mashk* (waterskin) The Dafali bathes in the Ganges in connexion with important ceremonies Finally a distinctively Muhammadan religious rite has been modified to resemble an equally distinctive Hindu rite The Shab Barat is a festival when gifts are made to the poor in the name of God the prophet and all relations and descendants But Indian Musulmans now hold that the ceremony confers direct spiritual benefit on deceased ancestors and even that its omission would result in the barring of the gates of Paradise to

all members of the family who had died during the previous year. This, of course, is reminiscent of the Hindu *sraddha*. Many castes of Hindu converts, not content with making this offering on the usual occasion, repeat it at one or other of the Ids, sometimes at both.

Some brief explanations may be given of the nature and origin of certain of the castes mentioned above.

58. Explanatory remarks regarding the origin of certain Muhammadan castes.

(1) *Converted Rajputs*.—(*a*) The Khanzadas of the United Provinces are found in Oudh; according to one account, they are the descendants of Tilok Chand and his followers, Bachgoti Rajputs to whom Babar offered the choice of Islam or imprisonment; according to another account, they were converted at an earlier date, probably in the reign of Sikandar Lodi.

(*b*) The Ranghars were Bhatti Rajputs, converted in the reigns of Qutb-ud-Din (1206-1210) and Ala-ud-din Khilji (1295-1315).

(*c*) The Lalkhanis are Bargujars of Bulandshahr, descended from Lal Singh, a favourite of Akbar, who was given the title of Lal Khan; his grandson was the first member of the family to embrace Islam, in the reign of Aurangzeb.

(*d*) The Bhale Sultans of Bulandshahr became Muhammadans to please Khizr Khan, Timur's protégé, but previous to this they had been closely connected with the Musulman rulers both under Shahab-ud-din Ghori and Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq. Those of Sultanpur were probably converted in the time of Sher Shah, King of Bengal.

There are Muhammadan branches in the following important Rajput septs: Bais, Bargujar, Bhatti, Bisen, Chandel, Chauhan, Gautam, Panwar, Raikwar, Rathor, Sombansi, and Tomar, besides other septs of less importance.

(ii) *Converted pseudo-Rajputs*.—The origin of the *Garas Jhojhas* and *Dogars* is uncertain. They are all agricultural castes belonging to the western districts. They all claim to be ex Rajputs, but in the case of the Jhojhas, at all events, the claim is very weak. Indeed, the Jhojhas are more probably descended from converted slaves of the Moghuls. There is possibly more in the claim of the Garas and Dogars.

(iii) *Converted Ahirs*.—The *Gaddis* and *Ghosis* by occupation are dairymen and cowherds. They are mostly converted Ahirs; in fact, in 1891, both were recorded as Ahir subcastes. The Gaddis are most numerous in Oudh and with other low-caste tribes were subdued by the Rajput immigrants from the west. The Ghosis, in the eastern districts, claim to be ex Gujars.

(iv) *Banjara sections*.—(*a*) The *Baidguar* caste is clearly composed of converts from the Hindu Baid Banjaras. It has two endogamous sections—Baid, who carry grain on pack animals, and Guar, who tend cattle.

(*b*) The *Turkiya Banjara* (already mentioned in par. 39), assert that they came originally from Multan, whence they moved into the Deccan and then into Rohilkhand. They are not to be confused with the Turk caste of the Rampur State (see below).

(*c*) The *Mukeri Banjaras* claim to have come originally from Mecca, which they helped Father Abraham to build, and as a natural corollary to belong to the Quresh tribe which resided in and around Mecca. They have a larger proportion of Muslim sections than most similar castes, so that quite possibly they have a considerable admixture of foreign blood.

(v) *The Turk*.—The *Turk* is an agricultural caste found in Rampur State and the Kumaon Tarai. They deny that they are converted Hindus; they claim to be of Turki blood and to have entered India with Shahab-ud-din Ghori. But the claim is very doubtful,

for their customs are much more Hindu than Muhammadan. They are, for instance, very strictly endogamous, and marry early—earlier even than most Hindu castes.

(vi) *Castes of singers, dancers, and musicians.*—The *Kingariya, Dharhi,* and *Mirasi* are all singers and musicians. They appear to be closely akin, the Muhammadan Dharhis and Mirasis are said to intermarry, whilst Kingariyas and Dharhis are probably the same people under different names. The Mirasi is also known as Dom Mirasi, and may spring from the Dom tribe, the Kingariyas and Dharhis are chiefly converts from the Nat and other vagrant races. The *Bhand, Dafali, Hurkiya* and *Tawaif* all belong to the same class of society. The Tawaif is the class of dancing girls and prostitutes, it recruits from all castes, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. The Hurkiya is a small class of pimps, musicians, and attendants on Muhammadan dancing girls The Bhand is a mimic, jester, and buffoon One of the Bhand sections claims descent from one Saiyid Hasan, a courtier of Timur, who composed a humorous poem in Arabic for his master's pleasure The other section was imported from Kashmir by Nasir-ud-din Haidar, King of Oudh. The sectional nomenclature shows that the origin of the caste is partially, at all events, Hindu The Dafali is a beggar, drummer, and hedge priest

(vii) *Occupational castes connected with food and drink.*—(*a*) The *Bhathiyara* is an innkeeper and vendor of cooked meat, and tobacco The caste consists partly of Hindu converts, but is now entirely Muhammadan The inn (*sarai*) is a very old Hindu institution, dating back to Chandragupta at least. It is perhaps natural that the occupation has passed into Muhammadan hands, the caste restrictions on cooking and food make it difficult for a Hindu to be of much assistance to others as a cook As matters are, a *sarai* to a Hindu is a place where he can obtain lodging, not board or attendance.

(b) The *Bhishti* caste is entirely Muhammadan the Hindu water-carrier is a Kahar The caste, however is largely composed of converts The Bhishti is also known as Saqqa—an Arabic word meaning one who gives to drink which has recently become prominent, as a result of events in Afghanistan

(c) The *Iraqi* is a curious caste to find in Islam Its special occupation is the sale of liquor, the use of which is, of course forbidden by that religion According to one theory, they are Persian immigrants from Iraq (Mesopotamia) whilst others derive the name from *araq* liquor' More probably they are converted Kalwars Some of them ape Hinduism to the extent of buttoning their coat to the left and wearing no beard both in Hindu fashion but this is merely because it suits their Hindu customers better

(viii) The *Malkana*—Malkana is the name given to a group of miscellaneous converts residing mostly in the Agra and Muttra districts Little was known of this caste till 1923 when enquiry disclosed the following facts The date of their conversion is unknown it cannot be later than the reign of Jahangir for they possess documents of that period and may be much earlier The name was originally a title its meaning (*målik*= king) shows that they were of high position Most of them seem to be of Rajput stock (Jadon Sakarwar Chandel Kachhwaha) but some claim to be descendants of Jat Agarwal and Brahman ancestors Their conversion has made very little impression upon them Most of their customs are Hindu for instance Hindu priests perform a number of the preliminary marriage ceremonies, and are followed by the *qazi* who performs the Muhammadan rite Many of them also preserve the Hindu exogamous restrictions They worship Hindu deities, observe Hindu festivals, and avoid commensal relations with other Muhammadans They even have

Hindu names Almost their only Muhammadan observances are circumcision and burial of the dead

Principal authorities —Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N -W P and Oudh* (1896)
Census Reports, U P, 1901 and 1911
Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N -W F P* (1911)
Elphinstone, *History of India*
Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India under Muhammadan Rule* (1917)
Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law* (4th edition)

CHAPTER XI

NEW CASTES AND NEW INFORMATION ABOUT OLD CASTES

1 *Mutability of caste*

In previous chapters there is ample proof that the caste system is not rigid, but mutable and that its evolution is still proceeding new castes and subcastes come into existence, old customs fall into abeyance One result of this is that no account of caste, however complete and accurate it was at the time when it was written remains so for long Such a book as Mr Crooke s *Tribes and Castes of the N.-W P and Oudh* requires periodical revision if it is to be kept up to date [1]

This book is not an attempt to revise that great work indeed its plan is entirely different None the less, it will be useful to devote a chapter to the description of new castes which were not in existence when Mr Crooke wrote and to such fresh information about old castes as has come to light since his time [2]

2 *Ignorance of Indians about caste*

It has already been stated that the average Indian whatever his religion or community, knows little or nothing about anybody s caste but his own His knowledge of his own caste is more extensive but even so though he may know facts he is generally ignorant of principles, and also of the origin and history of the caste itself At the census of 1911 in the United Provinces, there were 667 Hindu caste entries, which on examination were reduced to something under 300 and even of these a certain number were subcaste names which for various reasons[3] could not be

[1] The book was published in 1896 It has not been revised since. It is to be hoped that revised edition will not much longer be delayed.

[2] Many of the f cts given in this chapter have already been mentioned but as rule only incidentally by way of illustration of some discussion.

[3] Usually because the same name was ttached to subcastes in several castes.

definitely assigned to any particular caste, or functional names which were not true caste names, though they possibly denoted new castes in process of formation.

3 Wilful misrepresentation about caste

Apart from ignorance, however, there are many cases of wilful misrepresentation, dictated by various motives Sometimes a Hindu prefers, when asked his caste, to give, in lieu of its name, some more or less honorific title which is appropriated to it. For instance, a Kayastha may describe himself as 'Lala', a Jat as 'Chaudhri', a Bhangi as 'Mehtar'. Others may return an occupational name, or the name of a subcaste, or the name of his *gotra* or family, for no better reason than that they sound more distinguished For instance, there were such occupational entries in the census returns of 1911 as '*zargar*' (jeweller), '*nilgar*' (worker in indigo), '*tikligar*' (spangle-maker) The Kayastha-Mochi preferred to call himself Kayastha-Zingar (i e saddler instead of shoemaker). Jaiswara Chamars almost invariably describe themselves as 'Jaiswara', for that is also a subcaste of many much higher castes Similarly the Kori-Chamar will always call himself Kori—or even by slurring the first syllable try to make himself out a Koiri [1] From time to time, too, castes or particular branches of castes, who, having acquired wealth, are endeavouring to rise in the social scale, claim descent from one of the three twice-born classes of Manu, and in pursuance of their claim they call themselves by a name that conforms to it. These claims may or may not be justified some of them undoubtedly are so, and (if the description of the growth of the caste system given in an earlier chapter is correct), there is no *a priori* improbability in any of them But when, for instance, a Bhuinhar or a Belwar calls himself a Brahman, the result is but to increase the difficulty of classification by caste The vanity which induces such

[1] A Kori-Chamar tent-pitcher once earned a severe beating from his fellow servants for playing this trick, and so inducing them to drink water at his hands

an action is perfectly intelligible it operates also in other races, as for instance, when Smith spells his name with a y and a redundant e or Moses and Jacobson become Moss and Jameson by deed poll but it is none the less troublesome to the investigator

4 Claims to high descent

There have been many new claims to twice born descent since Mr Crooke wrote, whilst fresh information has been collected which bears on old claims

Bhuinhars have claimed to be Maithila Brahmans which claim was admitted in 1911 [1] to the extent of allowing Bhuinhars to describe themselves as Bhuinhar Brahmans thus making the caste a Brahman subcaste, such as Gaur Saraswat and others

The Oudh Belwars have also claimed Brahman descent here too the claim appears to be correct Their main subcaste was always Sanadh which is a Brahman subcaste They appear to be in origin the same as the Naik Banjaras found in Gorakhpur who also claim to be Sanadhs Both are orthodox Brahmans save that they smoke tobacco in some places they get the special greeting reserved for Brahmans; they have or had the habit of sitting *dharna* at a debtor s door whilst in one district Sanadhs sometimes intermarry with them (In this district it should be explained they have given up the un-Brahmanical occupation and customs which were the original cause of their separation)

The Tagas claim to be Brahmans who have renounced the acceptance of gifts the claim though probable enough is not so far as I know proved in the same sense as the claims of the Belwar and Bhuinhar Other

By the census authorities. All these claimants have contracted the habit of regarding these authorities as College of Heralds, much t the latter inconvenience. Their proper course would be to apply to some learned Brahman for a *vyavastha*, or declaration. See *Census Report India* 19 pp. 379-380.

i e. of sitting there without food or water till the debt is paid thus threatening the debtor with the moral guilt of Brahman s death. The practice is, of course ineffective except in the case of Brahman; it is forbidden by the Penal Code.

castes that have claimed Brahmanical descent are certain Bhats, the Dhiman Barhais, and the Lohars. the former call themselves 'Brahmbhat', the two latter 'Visvakarma-bansi Brahman' In these cases, the castes have advanced elaborate, but unconvincing, arguments to prove their claims, though that does not imply that the claims are necessarily wrong

Kurmis, Gadariyas, Karnwals, Mair and Tank Sonars, and Kayasthas all claim Kshatriya descent None of these claims have so far been satisfactorily proved but there is no prima facie improbability in the claims of the Kurmis, Sonars and Kayasthas As is pointed out elsewhere,[1] all ancient authorities are curiously silent about the agricultural castes it is not possible to believe that there were no landowners amongst the old Kshatriya clans, and the Kurmi, which is an agricultural caste of high position and high antiquity, may very well represent, at all events in respect of some of his branches, the old Kshatriya landowners, or at least their *vrisala* successors in interest[2] The Sonar is an occupational caste also of high antiquity, and some of its subcastes may very well be of Kshatriya descent, for since the guild of goldsmiths must have been of high position and repute, it would be one of those that Kshatriyas would be most likely to join The arguments by which the Kayasthas support their claim are remarkably ingenious The ancient Kshatriyas, they say, were not merely the rulers and soldiers of the community their traditional occupation was 'public service' generally There were secretariats and public offices in old days, which must have been staffed by Kshatriya secretaries and clerks It is from this ancient bureaucracy that the Kayasthas claim descent Unfortunately, what independent evidence there is suggests that the 'civil service' of ancient India—in its upper grades at all events—was recruited rather from Brahmans than Kshatriyas

Kalwars claim to be Batham Vaisyas, Kandus and

[1] Chapter XII, par 5
[2] Chapter II, par 10

Halwais claim to be Madhesiya Vaisyas and in each of these castes there is a subcaste of the appropriate name at the present day There is, perhaps less improbability prima facie, in this than in any other similar claim The Kandu indeed is generally admitted to be one of the Vaisya branches, formerly and incorrectly called Baniya

The Khattris have long claimed to be Kshatriyas, who have taken to trade and the claim was admitted in 1901 to the extent of putting them in the same social group as the modern Rajput clans The fact that Saraswat Brahmans will eat either *kachcha* or *pakka* food cooked by them as their hereditary priests, points to a very high and very pure descent A complete list of the claims advanced in 1911 and 1921 is added as an appendix [1]

5 *New castes* (i) *Baghban*

In 1901 it was reported that the Baghban subcaste had split off from the Mali caste whilst Mr Crooke mentions Baghbans whom he connects with the Kachhis It has since been reported that they have four exogamous groups, the Baramasi Sani Chhajarwar and Karonia Baramasi in the western districts is another name for Kachhi and means those who cultivate their lands all the year round Sani is given as a Baghban subcaste by Mr Crooke Karonia is a Mali section Clearly Kachhi Mali and Baghban are all closely akin most probably the Mali is an offshoot from the Kachhi and the Baghban from the Mali The levirate exists, but is not compulsory The caste is served by Gaur and Sanadh Brahmans [2]

6. (ii) *Banmanus*

Mr Crooke described the Banmanus (which means man of the forest') as a Musahar subcaste but in Sultanpur they are now a separate and entirely distinct caste Their legendary ancestor was Sewak, an Ahir whose family save one pregnant woman, was slain

[1] I am told by the Census Superintendent of 1931 that the number of these claims on this occasion is over a hundred.

[2] Cf. also Chapter VI par 13 (II).

in battle with another Ahir. They worship the hero Raja Bal, a Bhar King of Dalmau, who was killed by the Muhammadans, the Banmanus, however, tell another story of his death, and incidentally make him a Brahman. Raja Bal happened to blow his horn near the spot where some wild beast had killed a cow Some Ahirs were attracted by the sound, concluded that the dead bones were crying out against their murderer, and put the Raja to death then, finding that he was a Brahman, deified him. This legend also belongs to Ahir mythology The caste is endogamous, has the usual marriage customs, and practises the levirate. They use the Brahman only as an astrologer. Their chief occupations are making leaf platters and collecting wild honey Those who live in the jungle are said to be very shy and wild. those who have settled in villages resemble other low caste villagers [1]

7 (iii) *Bhuiyar* There are no less than three castes with this name: an aboriginal tribe in Mirzapur, an old caste, elsewhere called 'Orh', in Moradabad, and a new caste in the same district. The second of these is a functional caste which weaves coarse cloth and blankets. it has an impermanent *panchayat* and the usual customs of low caste Hindus. The third caste claims descent from one Raja Jagdeo, and say they got the name because they 'lost their land'.[2] these are chiefly cultivators, but some are weavers They have a permanent *panchayat*, and differ from the second caste in the possession of *gotras* and *gotra* exogamy, and in various customs It is possible that these second and third groups are both offshoots of the Kori caste if so, the second may be Orh Koris and the third Chamar Koris, for both Orh and Chamar are subcastes of the Kori caste Bhuiyar in that case would be a mere occupational name (it is the local term for weaver) Or the third group of Bhuiyars may be Chamars that have taken to weaving [3]

[1] Cf. also Chapter VI, par 5 (iv)
[2] *Bhum*, land, *har*, loser
[3] Cf. also Chapter XII, par 9

The Dhimar is a Kahar occupational subcaste of fishermen which for some unknown reason has separated itself from the parent stock all over the United Provinces It has a permanent *panchayat* and in all respects resembles the Kahar caste

8 (iv) Dhimar

The Ghogar is a new Muhammadan caste of converts from Hinduism which is found in Moradabad Meerut Muzaffarnagar Bijnor and Naini Tal There are various accounts of their origin They themselves claim variously Arabian and Kshatriya descent (according, no doubt, as the claimant attaches more importance to religion or to race) Another theory is that they descend from the union of a Dhinwar Khagi and a Bharbhunja woman which seems to be an etiological myth explaining their occupations of digging wells and parching grain the traditional functions of the two groups mentioned Ghogar is then explained as a corruption of *do ghar'* or two houses—an impossible derivation A less improbable story assigns them as ancestor one Ghogh Mallah—in which case Ghogar is a diminutive They practise the levirate, and permit marriage with the mother s brother s daughter but with no other cousin—which amounts to a considerable restriction on the usual Muhammadan custom They observe some Hindu festivals but are better Muhammadans than most castes of the same social standing

9. (v) Ghogar

The Gidhiya caste lives in Moradabad Naini Tal and Bijnor Their origin is uncertain they themselves assert sometimes that they are descended from a clan of Gujarat Rajputs called Athpahariya sometimes that they are emigrants from a place called Harewala, though they do not know where that is They have four endogamous subcastes—Athpahariya Bawariya Gandhila and Phandiya—which last they say is their caste name in their native land (i.e Gujarat or Harewala) They practise the levirate and marriage with the maternal uncle s daughter but with no other cousin A daughter

10. (vi) Gidhiya

may be married into the family in which a father's sister has been married, but not a son which is only one form of the hypergamous rule They eat food cooked by any touchable Hindu they will eat any kind of flesh except pork, fowls, and beef, and even such carrion as kites They worship Kali They are traditionally bird-catchers and derive their name from the fact that they make their nets from the sinews of the kite (*gidh*). They used to be regarded as criminals, but have now settled down to cultivation. I am inclined to regard them as an offshoot of the Western Bawariyas for the following reasons —

(*a*) Gidhiya is a name, in some places, for Bawariya

(*b*) The Bawariyas also claim descent from Rajputs of Western India

(*c*) Of the four Gidhiya subcastes, one is Bawariya and another Gandhila, a vagrant tribe akin to the Bawariya

(*d*) The Bawariyas used to be bird-catchers.

(*e*) In the matter of worship, food and commensal restrictions, the Bawariyas and Gidhiyas show complete similarity, save that the former have not yet given up the use of pork and fowls

11 *(vii) Kanmail*

The Kanmail is a Muhammadan occupational caste, they claim to be Siddiqi Shaikhs, though they are quite clearly converts from Hinduism In all probability they are an offshoot from the Mahawat Nats, who are also called Kanmailiya like these Nats, the Kanmail is occasionally called Baid, or Bindhi—a generic nickname, indeed, for all Nats, from a peculiar method of tying the turban At all events, they have now settled down in Moradabad They have no subcastes They have a permanent *panchayat* under an elected *chaudhri*, with the usual social jurisdiction The levirate exists cousins can marry on the mother's side, but not on the father's.

The marriage customs are normal, but are rather adaptations from Hinduism than strictly Muhammadan in nature Their occupation is the decidedly unpleasant one of ear-cleaning

The Kayastha Darzi is a new caste, found in Gorakhpur Etah and Moradabad In Gorakhpur
12 (viii) Kayastha-Darzi they claim to be Srivastava, in Etah and Moradabad to be Saksena Kayasthas The latter possess *gotras* and have published a monograph on their ethnology They possess a *panchayat* and tolerate but do not approve of, the levirate In both these respects they differ from ordinary Kayasthas indeed these facts (coupled with the existence of the monograph mentioned, for such monographs are usually produced by castes that are endeavouring to rise in the social scale) suggest that instead of being Kayasthas who have taken to the trade of the Darzi they may be Darzis who are claiming rank as Kayasthas Locally however the opposite view is held

The Kayastha-Senduriya exists only in
13 (ix) Kayastha Senduriya Gorakhpur and is in all respects similar to the Kayastha Darzi of that district

The Phansiya caste is an offshoot of the Pasi tribe, which resides in Morada-
14 (x) Phansiya bad Bareilly and Rampur State They themselves claim kinship with the Bhils: and the claim is possibly correct, for one of the Pasi subcastes in Moradabad and the neighbouring district of Budaun is Bhil They also seem to be akin to Aheriyas and Baheliyas, which also are Pasi subcastes in this tract Formerly they were hunters and fowlers like their relations: but they are now cultivators and fruit sellers The levirate exists, and the practice of marrying outside the village is strictly followed They imitate the food restrictions of higher castes and are served by Gaur Brahmans The caste affords a typical example of a rise in the social scale due to adopting a clean profession it is also an instance of secession due to increased prosperity

15 *(xi) Sainthwar*

The Sainthwar was formerly a Kurmi subcaste, but was classed as a separate caste in 1911. The chief member of it is the Raja of Padrauna in Gorakhpur and the separation is principally due to the rise of his family to prominence There is a legendary connexion between the Sainthwars and the Bisen Rajputs. The traditional ancestor of the latter was Mayur Bhatta the Sainthwars, or at all events the Mal section of that caste, claim to be descended from the union of this prince and a concubine, who, according to the Bisens' own tradition, was a Kurmi woman It should be mentioned that all Kurmis claim such descent, though the Sainthwars do not admit their claim, which, considering the widespread nature of the Kurmi caste, is prima facie improbable Sainthwars do not allow widow marriage, but this is more probably the result of the fission than its cause

16 *(xii) Singhariya*

The only caste which has ever possessed a subcaste called Singhariya is the Kahar In Moradabad, however, the Singhariyas claim descent from certain members of four high Rajput clans, who took to the occupation of growing ground-nuts, and they deny that there is any connexion with Kahars. This claim is certainly baseless, and their customs are not such as a Rajput offshoot would be likely to adopt They have, for instance, a permanent *panchayat* with a permanent elected *chaudhri*: very important matters are referred to a caste *panchayat* of *chaudhris* which meets on the occasion of a fair at Kashipur in the Naini Tal district They have the levirate custom and prohibit marriage in the lines of all four grandparents

17 *Fresh information about old castes*

(i) *Bharbhunja; Halwai; Kandu* The Bharbhunja, Halwai and Kandu castes are closely akin, though the precise nature of their kinship is uncertain All three claim to be Madhesiya Vaisyas and certainly all three have Madhesiya subcastes[1] Mr Sherring calls Kandu a subcaste of Bharbhunja Sir

[1] Cf. above, par 4

Herbert Risley treats the two names as synonyms in Bihar and Bengal In Gorakhpur the Bharbhunja caste, and in Azamgarh a Halwai subcaste are regarded as off shoots from the Kandu caste whilst in Cawnpore the Kanaujiya Bharbhunja so long as he follows the Halwai s occupation is said to intermarry with the Halwai caste In all probability the Kandu is the oldest of the three, and has given branches to both the Bharbhunja and the Halwai at all events in the east of the United Provinces

18 (ii) Bhoksa The Bhoksas inhabit the Tarai or the submontane tracts of the Naini Tal district There are two accounts of their origin One, a comparatively simple story makes them Rajputs from Delhi who either voluntarily settled in or were exiled to the Tarai during the Moghul period The other story is to the effect that certain Rajputs, being about to rebel against the Moghul power sent their wives with their maidservants and an escort of Kahars to the safety of this wild tract The rebellion failed their husbands were all killed and the Bhoksas were the offspring of the union of the Rajput women and their Kahar servants In support of this story they point to certain customs of the caste which all presuppose the superiority of women over men—namely that their women will not eat food cooked by the men that they eat indoors, whilst men eat out of doors that they do the marketing whilst the men attend them to carry home their purchases All these customs are certainly most unusual in India

19. (iii) Borly In the neighbourhood of Cawnpore Borlyas are regarded as notorious criminals, which one would not gather from Mr Crooke s account They are obviously the same as Bauriyas or Bawariyas

20. (iv) Chauhán There is much confusion regarding the Chauhans of Moradabad and Bijnor There are, first true Rajput Chauhans, a clan of very high position whose members in this part of the country bear the hereditary title of Chaudhri

There are, secondly, other Chauhans, who, though they are indubitably of Rajput descent, are of much lower rank To account for this loss of status they tell two stories One is to the effect that in 1488, on the invitation of a *sadhu* who had been persecuted by a Muhammadan governor, they invaded the country, conquered the oppressor, and then settled down on the scene of their victory, losing status as a consequence The other story alleges that they lost status because they crossed the Indus in 1586 with Maharaja Man Singh the cause of the loss of status in both cases would be the same, namely, the change of home[1] These Chauhans are divided into two endogamous sections—Chaudhri and Bar (or Padhan), which were originally exogamous, for Chaudhris used to take wives from, though they refused to give wives to, the Bars The cause of this change was possibly that the Chaudhris were rich and orthodox, whilst the Bars were poor and practised widow marriage At all events, an attempt made to effect a reconciliation at a joint *panchayat* failed, and as the Chaudhris insisted on treating the Bars as their inferiors for the purpose of marriage, whilst the Bars would not deal with them on such terms, the two sections remain endogamous Both sections have lost further prestige because they do not wear the sacred thread, and eat *kachcha* food in the fields instead of in the privacy of the *chauka* at home whilst it is said that in Moradabad the Chaudhris also practise widow marriage

Thirdly, there is a Chauhan subcaste of the Khagi caste This suggests a connexion between the true Chauhans and the Khagis the Chauhan Khagis are probably descendants of Khagi servants of the true Chauhans

Fourthly, there is a separate caste called Khagi-Chauhan They claim to be true Chauhans, who lost status at a very early date because they adopted the practice of widow marriage The cause would certainly suffice to

[1] Another instance of loss of status connected with a change of home is that of the Sarwariya Brahmans, outcasted by the Kanaujiyas because they crossed the Sarju to perform the *yagna* ceremony for Rama after he killed Rawan

produce the effect and the affiliation of these outcaste Chauhans to the Khagis might be the result of the connexion between them mentioned above But the claim is probably bad for these Khagi-Chauhans have other customs which are characteristic of low castes—for instance the levirate and a permanent *panchayat*—whilst in features they are said to resemble Chamars rather than Rajputs[1] Still it is a curious fact that the Bar-Chauhans are beginning to take their daughters as wives, which implies that they at all events believe in their Chauhan descent

What with (1) true Chauhans who bear the title of Chaudhri (2) degraded Chauhans one of whose subcastes is Chaudhri (3) Khagi-Chauhans and (4) Chauhan Khagis, there is scope for confusion

21 (v) *Chik*

In Cawnpore and elsewhere the Chik disclaims any connexion with the Khatik and the Khatik with him This is contrary to Mr Crooke s view in one place he makes Chik a Khatik subcaste in another he makes Khatik a Chik or Qassab subcaste[2] Nor is Baqarqassab a mere variant for Chik it is an entirely distinct Muhammadan group also known as Turkiya whilst Chiks are all Hindus The Chik has a permanent *panchayat* there are seven exogamous *gotras* but no endogamous sections

22 (vi) *Dakaut or Joshi*

The true name of the Joshi caste in the plains is Jotishi or Jyotishi Brahmans—i e Brahmans learned in astrology Dakaut is a nickname used in Bijnor only due to the fact that some of them accept offerings made to the idol of Sani (Saturn) in Dakaur near Bombay They have the custom of levirate and widow marriage these, and the presence of a remarkably well organized *panchayat* make it improbable that they are true Brahmans

[1] There is a local proverb *Chauhan aur Chamar ki ek ras* which means Chauhan and Chamar have the same horoscope This may mean that they have the same characteristics; but more probably it is merely similar to the proverb the rain falls alike on the just and the unjust

[2] *Tribes and Castes of the N W P and Oudh* Vol III, p. 258, and Vol. IV p. 190.

The older and more common spelling was Jhijhotiya, which agrees with none of the usual derivations, though it could be referred to Jejaka Dhukti, a name used in inscriptions for parts of Bundelkhand The name given in the Vishnu Dharma Purana to the country between the Vindhyas, Jumna, and Narbada is, however, Judhdesh, which is the tract where Jujhotiyas are mainly found. and obviously it supports the spelling Jujhotiya The Jujhotiyas themselves, however, met some years ago to discuss caste origins, and accepted a theory that they were named after one Jujhar Singh, a ruler of remote antiquity who settled in Bundelkhand, and finding no Brahmans there, invited Kanaujiyas to cross the Jumna, whose name he then changed to Jujhotiya This legend may conceal a real fission from the Kanaujiyas due to a change of home But the Jujhotiyas probably had ulterior motives for accepting this theory for it enabled them both to claim Kanaujiya origin, and also to pay a compliment to the ruler of a considerable State in Bundelkhand whose name happened to be Jujhar Singh They are generally regarded as similar but inferior to Kanaujiyas they will eat their *pakka* food, but Kanaujiyas do not return the compliment

23 *(vii) Jujhotiya Brahman*

24 *(viii) Karwal*

A good deal of information has been given elsewhere about the Karwal caste [1] Other quaint customs are described here They will eat goat, sheep, pig, fowls, various kinds of game birds, porcupines and lizards They will eat food of all kinds cooked by all castes save the Chamar, Bhangi, Dhobi, Dom, Kori, and Dhanuk, which are also the castes from which they may not take wives They have customs of their own both at birth and at death At birth, they bury the umbilical cord and placenta with a scorpion's sting, the intestines of a porcupine, and some liquor, which are believed to preserve the babe respectively

[1] Chapter IX, par 9

against feeling a scorpion s sting an excessive secretion of bile colds, and ill luck generally Liquor is drunk at the usual feasts on the sixth and twelfth days after birth but women get none, because it would be too expensive to provide it for them At death they distinguish between *kachcha* and *pakka* rites, so called from the nature of the food given at the funeral feast The *pakka* funeral is that of a person who has had smallpox (or been vaccinated) the body if that of a man, is wrapped in a new loin cloth and turban if that of a woman in a new skirt, bodice and veil with a winding sheet in both cases whilst a comb and needle are also buried with a woman for a woman s toilet is no trifling matter as a Karwal said when giving this information A *pakka* corpse is cremated the ashes are collected for interment in the tribal burial place, which they visit once a year for the purpose The *kachcha* funeral is used for all other purposes the corpse is buried in the clothes worn at death

5. (ix) Kayastha

The Kayastha caste as a whole, stands in high repute But the numerous class of *patwaris* (keepers of the village revenue records) consists almost entirely of Kayasthas and as the *patwari* has a bad name for chicanery the better class Kayasthas affect to despise this occupation Some years ago many Srivastava families, especially in Oudh refused to have any relations whether connubial or commensal with *patwari* families and the Kayastha *sabha* had some difficulty in preventing the consequent formation of a *patwari* subcaste This is an excellent instance of how an occupation regarded as degrading can lead to secession from a caste and the formation of a new caste

16. ( ) Kayastha-Mochi

According to Mr Crooke this group has 'the same customs as ordinary Kayasthas and intermarries with them In Cawnpore at all events, the former part of this statement is only partially true The rural Kayastha-Mochis possess a *panchayat* which meets once a year in Charkhari State under the presidency of

a permanent headman, called *sarmaur* (crowned head), whilst in the city it is of the ordinary permanent type, though dignified by the name of *sabha* ordinary Kayasthas have only an impermanent *panchayat* (if they have that, for much of their business is done by their caste *sabha*). Kayastha-Mochis, moreover, have the levirate custom, which no true Kayastha permits. The latter part of the statement, in the same locality, is entirely incorrect. Kayastha-Mochis admit that they have neither connubial nor commensal relations with the Kayasthas.

27. (xi) *Khumra*.

Mr Crooke said little about the Khumra, and in 1901, it was classed under Raj. The Khumras allege that they come from Kafa in Arabia and are descended from one Kamraha, a disciple of Mir, whom Mir carried off in his waistband (*kamarband*) as a boy, whence the name.[1] They have no endogamous subcastes and practise the levirate without the usual restriction against marrying the husband's elder brother; their domestic customs are the usual mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan.

28. (xii) *Kuta Banjara*.

The Kuta-Banjara caste appears to be the same as Mr Crooke's Dhankuta Banjara.[2] They assert that they are of Rajput descent and settled in Moradabad and the Tarai from Delhi. They have an impermanent *panchayat*, and the levirate is permitted but not compulsory. They have eight exogamous sections of which three are Rajput (Gahlot, Chauhan, and Panwar). They are carriers and cultivators.

29. (xiii) *Kuta-Mali*.

The Kuta-Malis say that their original home was Jigangarh in Muttra. When the Muhammadans sacked that place, they forcibly converted most of its Rajput inhabitants to Islam and they became the Lal-Khanis; the Kuta-Malis are the descendants of the

[1] The fact that '*Kamar*' is not an Arabic word rather spoils the story.
[2] *Tribes and Castes of the N.-W. P. and Oudh*, Vol. I, p. 157.

few who escaped The refugees took shelter in a faqir s garden who saved them from their pursuers by calling them his gardeners in memory of which they were called Malis When they took to pounding grain they became known as Kuta-Malis They have also a traditional connexion with Delhi where there are some forty villages of them in the United Provinces they are found in Moradabad Bareilly Bijnor Naini Tal and Rampur State They practise the levirate, but their other customs are normal They are a thrifty hardworking caste as two proverbs show One is *Kuta Mali kabhi na baitha khali*'— A Kuta-Mali is never idle the other *Jahan Kuta Mali wahan uski gharwali* — Where the Kuta Mali is, his wife is also which refers to the fact that they pound and sift grain together

30. (xiv) *Lodhas* The Lodhas in Bundelkhand have long claimed to be of Rajput descent One of their subcastes the Mahalodhis which is found only in that region, have customs much more orthodox than other subcastes they do not permit widow marriage, have no permanent *panchayat* and are regarded by other subcastes as of higher rank than themselves These facts do not of course necessarily support their claim they may as well be the result of the claim

31 (xv) *Mahajan* There is a Vaisya caste called Mahajan It is also a name appropriated by Kalwars who have given up dealing in liquor Many prosperous Kalwars, whether they sell liquor or not, are now endeavour ing to cut themselves off from their own caste, and to form a new caste under this name; they refuse to intermarry with ordinary Kalwars, who however do not recognize the distinction Since there is a Vaisya Maha jan this is probably an attempt to enter the ranks of the twice born by a backdoor

32 (xvi) *Manihar* The Manihar Churihar and Lakhera are generally regarded as three distinct castes In Cawnpore, however, they are said to form a single caste with none but a functional difference between them the Manihar

sells, the Churihar makes, glass bangles, whilst the Lakhera makes *lac* bangles.

33 (*xvii*) *Mina*

Mina is generally regarded as a mere variant for Meo But in Moradabad they disclaim any connexion. They say that Jaipur is their ancestral home they have four exogamous sections, two of which (Gahlot and Amethi) ally them to the Rajputs, whilst a third (Lalsoti) allies them to Jaipur, as Lalsot is a village in that State. They have a permanent *sarpanch*, known as *muqaddam*, and selected *panches*.

34 (*xviii*) *Ramaiya*

In Bijnor, the Ramaiya alleges that he originally came from Sankaldip 'beyond' Sangla (Colombo) · some Ramaiyas even say that they have visited their ancestral home From Sankaldip the caste migrated to Bijnor, via Jaipur and the Punjab The geography leaves something to be desired, as there is not very much land 'beyond' Colombo, but Sankaldip is usually located near Kabul, so possibly some other 'Sangla' is meant

35 (*xix*) *Thakur-Arakh*

Two or three families were found in a village in Cawnpore bearing the name Thakur-Arakh, obviously the descendants of a mixed union These unfortunates are compelled to marry amongst themselves

36 (*xx*) *Turaiha and Bhangi*

At no time has there been much cohesion in the Bhangi caste, and several authorities have thought it probable that the various subcastes would separate, all the more so that, as Mr Crooke proves, they were clearly of different origin, and had no bond of union save that of common occupation. This expectation has been fulfilled All subcastes, with one accord and everywhere, state that there is not now, and never has been, such a thing as a Bhangi caste Hela, Lal Begi, Balmiki, Shaikh-Mehtar are the principal castes of scavengers, but the fission has been complete Even such a small group as the Turaiha, which is found in Unao and Cawnpore, claims complete independence

37 (xxi) Tyar

Lord Avebury in his work *The Origin of Civilisation* quoting from a book entitled *The People of India* by Messrs Watson and Kaye, mentions the Teehurs of Oudh as possessing the custom of communistic marriage There are, or were, two groups of the name in the United Provinces one a Rajput clan now extinct, which gave its name to a tract (*tappa*) called Tyar[1] in the Oudh district of Sultanpur and one a section of the Mallah caste which is resident in the eastern districts and Bengal The former of these certainly never possessed such a custom The latter was a group of low caste boatmen and fishermen and the statement of Messrs Watson and Kaye must have referred to them though in that case they mistook the locality in which they lived But so far as is known that statement was wrong of them too It is conceivable that, in a community where men are compelled by their profession to leave their wives for long periods marriage restrictions may become somewhat lax but between that, and so primitive a system as communistic marriage, there is a very great difference Nor indeed, save this very statement is there any ground for supposing that these eastern Tyars were guilty of such laxity They too are now extinct, so far as the United Provinces are concerned[2] As a result of this unfounded imputation they have long suffered from an undesirable notoriety and these facts are mentioned with the object of correcting a mistake and doing the Tyars a somewhat belated justice

[1] Of which an early settlement officer wrote that it was like Niobe, all Tyars

[2] Only 135 were found at the Census of 1901 ; none at all in 1911

Principal authority —*Census Report U P* 1911

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

Castes that claim higher status than that usually accorded to them

Caste	Name claimed 1911	Name claimed 1921	Remarks
Bhuinhar	Bhuinhar Brahman	Bhuinhar Brahman	Recognized in 1911
Lohar	Visvakarmabansi Brahman	Dhiman Brahman	—
Barhai Dhiman	Visvakarmabansi Brahman	Dhiman Brahman	—
Belwar	Belwar Brahman Sanadh	Belwar Brahman Sanadh	Recognized in 1911
Taga	Brahman	Kokas Panchal Brahman	Old claim
Bhat	Brahmbhatt	Brahmbhatt	—
Barhai	—	Maithila Brahman	Some 75 families in Aligarh
Sonar, Mair	Mair Kshatriya	Mair Rajput	—
Sonar, Tank	Tank Kshatriya	—	—
Sonar, other	—	Mathur Rajput	—
Kurmi	Kurmi Kshatriya	Kurmi Kshatriya	—
Kayastha	Chitraguptabansi Kshatriya	—	—
Gadariya	Kshatriya	Pali Rajput	—
Karnwal	Kshatriya	—	—
Khattri	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Partly admitted in 1901
Kachhi	—	Kachhwaha Rajput	—
Kahar, Rawani	—	Chandrabansi Kshatriya	—
Tamboli	—	Nagbansi Kshatriya	—
Lodha	—	Lodhi Rajput	—
Ahir	—	Ahir Kshatriya	—
Khangar	—	Khangar Rajput	—
Kalwar	Batham Vaisya	Batham Vaisya	—
Kandu	Madhesiya Vaisya	—	—
Halwai	Madhesiya Vaisya	(Yogya Saini (Vaisya (Kanya Kubja (Vaisya	

The claims of 1911 are discussed in general terms in the text. I append explanatory notes where necessary

Bhuinhar There can be little doubt of the claim of this caste to Brahmanical origin. They have ancient legends connecting them with that caste; they are often called *Zamindar* or *Grihasht* Brahmans (landowning or family Brahmans); they have Brahmanical *gotras*, wear the Brahmanical sacred thread (which is longer than that of other twice born castes), and are addressed as Brahmans.

Lohar and *Barhai*. Both castes have sections that claim Brahmanical descent, wear the Brahmanical thread, and have Brahman *gotras*. Viswakarma is their reputed ancestor and present deity—the Vulcan of the Hindu mythology

Taga. What is meant by Kokas Panchal Brahman, I cannot say There is a Barai and Barhai sept called Kokas, whilst Panchala was the name of a northern Indian tribe. The Taga mythology usually affiliates them to the Gaur Brahman.

Sonar The claim of Mair and Tank Sonars is of old standing in the Punjab (1901). The claim to be Mathur Rajputs (i e. Rajputs from Muttra) is new and unintelligible.

Gadariya. This caste has a number of Kshatriya sections; Pali is a Punjab caste name for cattleherd.

Kachhi. It seems clear that the Kachhis had some sort of connexion with the Kachhwaha Rajputs, for there is a Kachhwaha subcaste of Kachhis all over the province. It does not of course follow that there is any connexion by blood.

Kahar Rawani R wani is one of the Kahar subcastes. How it supports its claim to Kshatriya birth is a mystery

Tamboli. This caste, and the allied Barai, possess a number of subcastes with Rajput names, of which Nagbansi is one.

Lodha. The claim to be a Lodhi Rajput (a central India caste) is an old one. It seems to be confined to Bundelkhand.

Ahir Ahirs have long claimed Kshatriya descent and they have undoubtedly been rulers of kingdoms in the past. The connexion would probably be through the J don or Jadubansi clan of Rajputs; there is large Ahir section f the same name.

Khangar The Khangar claim to Rajput lineage is supported by many legends. There is undoubtedly some connexion between the two; but prima facie it is much more likely that the Khangar should become a Rajput, than that a Rajput should become a Khangar

Kalwar Kandu and *Halwai*. The claim is old, as is the Kalwar subcaste Batham. It has always been held that the Kalwar like the Kandu and Halwai had a colourable right to be classed as V isyas. There are Madheshiya and Kanaujiya (Kanya Kubja) subcastes in both the Halwai and Kandu castes; but Yogya Saini is a name that I cannot trace.

CHAPTER XII

CASTE IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION

1 Occupation and society

At all times and in all countries the social status of an individual has been affected and even determined by the nature of the occupation from which he derives his livelihood Certain occupations and professions are regarded as suitable, others as unsuitable to the rank of life in which he is born, and should he follow one of the latter, then the esteem in which he is held is diminished, and he 'loses caste' For instance, in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the only careers considered fit for a gentleman were landholding, politics, the army, and to a certain extent, the navy, the church, and the law. The mid-Victorians added to this list other professions regarded as 'learned'—medicine and education, but it was not till more recent times that the adoption of any sort of business career, except possibly banking, ceased to be regarded as involving a loss of social standing.

It is not, therefore, surprising to find that occupation has also exercised, and still exercises, a marked influence on the Hindu social system Mr Nesfield,[1] indeed, goes so far as to regard that system as based entirely on differentiation of function, which is represented as the sole cause of the origin of caste others regard it as its principal, though not its sole, cause In earlier chapters an attempt has been made to prove that these views are exaggerated None the less, it cannot be doubted or denied that the effect produced by occupation on the evolution of this system has been very great.

[1] *Brief View of the Caste System of the N-W P and Oudh* (1885)

3 *Influence f occupation on arly Hind ociety* ( ) *The Buddhist period*

But though that effect has been great yet in certain, though not in essential respects, it differs from the effect produced by occupation on other social systems and to understand the nature of that effect it is necessary to re-examine briefly, and from a slightly different point of view the growth of the system as already described in an earlier chapter [1] We found there that at the dawn of history properly so called in the Buddhist period there were in existence certain social strata—Kshatriyas Vaisyas, Sudras *hina jatiyo hina-sippani* Chandala aboriginals—with the Brahmans, to whom reference will be made later These strata though more clearly defined corresponded roughly to similar social classes in modern times Kshatriyas to nobility, Vaisyas and Sudras to our upper and lower middle classes *hina jatiyo* and *hina sippani* to our labouring classes and Chandalas to the dregs of society There was also a cross-division based on occupation first the Brahmans who may perhaps be more accurately regarded as forming a learned than a purely sacerdotal class, corresponding generally to our learned professions especially the churchman the lawyer the statesman and the teacher secondly the trade guilds thirdly the low trades followed chiefly by the *hina-sippani* such as those of the barber the potter and the weaver lastly the primitive trades followed chiefly by the *hina jatiyo* such as hunting fishing herding basket making and bird-catching

The trade-guilds were no doubt mainly recruited from the Vaisya and Sudra i e from the middle classes But there was nothing more to prevent a Kshatriya from joining a guild or from becoming a Brahman than there is at the present day to prevent a peer from joining a business firm or from taking Holy Orders [2] He no doubt lost caste by so doing but so till a few years ago did his modern equivalent

[1] Chapter II, para. 4 and 5.
[2] Cf. Chapter II para. 4 and 5 for examples.

3 *The influence of heredity of function and endogamy*

There were, however, already two forces at work which modified the effect produced by occupation on social status whilst intensifying it The first of these was a tendency towards endogamy which arose from the social conditions of the time The second was the tendency towards heredity of function, which in all circumstances is a perfectly natural, and in a system of well-organized functional guilds, an almost inevitable, tendency. The former separated the individual who adopted a new occupation from the class to which he formerly belonged for, if the change of occupation involved a fall of status, his former associates would refuse to intermarry with him, whilst if it involved a rise of status, he would refuse to intermarry with his former associates · and in either case, he would seek for alliances in the social class which he had joined Both forces in combination also tended to separate each individual guild from all others, and from all other social groups The change of occupation, in fact, did not merely involve a change in social status or rank it definitely transferred the individual or individuals concerned from one social group to another social group And inasmuch as the function of a group was peculiar to itself and jealously reserved by each generation for the succeeding generation, the transfer once made was permanent These two forces, which were mere tendencies in the Buddhist period, grew increasingly strong with time, till at last they became fixed and immutable customs As will be shown later, they are still in operation to a certain extent.

4 *(b) The period of Manu*

Some nine centuries later we are presented with another account of the social system—the famous account of Manu [1] Much had occurred in the interval hordes of foreign invaders, one after the other, had swarmed into India, to modify, and ultimately to be absorbed into, the existing social system These

[1] Chapter II, par 8 *et sqq*

invasions had strengthened the prevailing tendency towards endogamy: and in the words of a certain inscription the four castes had been mixed[1] We now find a social system which is mainly based on differentiation of occupation The Brahmans (as of old form the sacerdotal and learned caste the occupation of the Kshatriyas is ruling and fighting—public service generally The Vaisyas and Sudras are described respectively as traders and industrialists and labourers and menials The *varnasankaras* are almost all occupational groups Remain the *vratyas* and *vrisalas*—the descendants of the foreign invaders pseudo-Hindus and in the latter case pseudo-Kshatriyas The various groups are all subject to a greater or less degree, to the law of endogamy not yet as rigid as it subsequently became it is none the less a law to which the possible exceptions are carefully defined and regulated

5 *Agriculture*

Before we pass on to examine the relations of caste and occupation in more modern times, we may pause to note one very striking omission in these two descriptions of Hindu society India is, and always has been pre eminently an agricultural country Yet in neither of these two descriptions is any prominence given to even if there is any mention of either land-owning or agricultural castes or the corresponding occupations, though a large part of the population must then as now have consisted of cultivators and their importance in the social system must have been great It is left for a foreign observer Megasthenes to put them in their proper place[2] He mentions the husbandmen as the second of his seven groups he tells us that they formed the bulk of the population (as they do still) and were exempt from military service (which if true, proves that they were regarded as a class of high importance) We may possibly arrive at an explanation of this omission by examining present conditions Firstly whereas each

[1] Chapter II par 7 the date is 126 A.D.
[2] Chapter II par 6.

main trade is, or till quite recently was, followed by a single caste, agriculture is the traditional occupation of a large number of castes Secondly, these castes are of varied origin, the Kurmi, for instance, claims Kshatriya descent, the Bhar, Jat, Gujar, and Lodha probably descend from aboriginal or invading tribes Thirdly, agriculture is traditionally associated with castes which also have other traditional occupations for instance, the Rajput, who represents the Kshatriya, the Bhuinhar and Taga, who claim Brahman origin, are also 'traditionally' landholders These facts suggest that agriculture at all times was followed by groups of such diverse origin and social rank that it was impossible for them to form anything of the nature of an agricultural 'guild', or to unite into a single caste Though it is possible that the Vedic Dasyu was not an agriculturist, yet undoubtedly every invading tribe in turn, from the Arya onwards, must have settled on the lands that it conquered, and taken to agriculture In other words agriculture was an occupation too widespread to produce any effect on the evolution of the social system—except in so far as it must always have been an occupation held in some esteem (as is proved by Megasthenes' statement of the husbandmen's special privileges), and its adoption by persons who followed other trades must have tended to improve their social status

6 The relation of caste and occupation in modern times

At the present day, it is possible to assign to every caste, with few exceptions,[1] an occupation, or group of allied occupations, with which it is, or till relatively recent times has been, intimately associated. In the case of functional castes the asso-

[1] These are —

(i) the hill-Dom, which is a race rather than a caste, or even a tribe, though its sections are functional,

(ii) the four original Muhammadan tribes (Mughal, Pathan, Shaikh, Saiyid),

(iii) the sectarian castes (though the Sadh has acquired a special trade of his own, viz the manufacture of printed cottons)

The Dom in the plains, though classed with agricultural labourers, follows all sorts of occupations of a humble nature

ciation is traditional preceding and actually causing their formation In the case of other castes, the association though merely incidental (or even accidental) is quite as ancient as it is in the case of functional castes The modern Ahirs, for instance, whose traditional occupation is cattle-keeping descend from the Abhiras, a pastoral tribe which dates back at least as far as the beginning of the Christian era The connexion of most agricultural castes with agriculture must also date back to the birth of the caste itself

7 Classification of castes by occupation

In Appendix I to this chapter an attempt has been made to classify castes according to their traditional occupations There are twelve main groups but where further differentiation is possible the special function is mentioned Some explanatory remarks follow —

(i) Agriculture —This is a large and very ill-defined group It is impossible to divide it with any accuracy even into sections as large as landholders and cultivators —the result partly of the system of land tenures, partly of the joint family system In practice there are few landholders who do not themselves cultivate some part of their land there are many cultivators who own a little land themselves As a result of their social position it is possible to class Bhuinhars, Rajputs, Sainthwars and Tagas as traditionally landholders but further specialization would lead to inaccuracy The only other castes to whom special functions can be assigned are some few who are growers of particular crops but even in these cases it does not follow either that they grow nothing else, or that nobody else grows their speciality[1]

(ii) Labourers and village menials —This group is of a vaguer nature still a traditional special function exists only in the case of the Beldar Luniya and Musahar The rest are tribal castes, who do all sorts of odd jobs about the village

[1] It was done in the census of 1911 but with unsatisfactory results, and for special reasons. See *Census Report U P* 1911 Chapter XII

(iii) Pastoral occupations —The traditional connexion with the occupation in this small group is sufficiently close

(iv) Learned professions —Special functions exist in all the cases in this group, which is one of functional castes in the strict sense

(v) Carrying and peddling —The special function exists here in all cases the Banjara has several which are followed by various subcastes

(vi) Hunting —Little specialization is possible here Both Banmanus and Gidhiya are castes discovered in 1911 of the rest, all but the Aheriya and Baheliya are hunters principally because they are aboriginal tribes living in or near the jungles

(vii) Boating and fishing —The three castes in this group were probably one in origin

(viii) Trade and industry, unspecified —The Bhatiya, Dhusar-Bhargava, and Khattri are Brahmans or Kshatriyas who have taken to trade The rest represent the 'Baniya' of early classifications, but claim correctly to descend from the old Vaisyas They are true functional castes, but of a particular kind in that their traditional function is unusually indefinite

(ix) Trade and industry specified and

(x) Trade in articles of food and drink —These groups are all purely functional castes

(xi) Singers, dancers, musicians, buffoons, acrobats —This is a group of performers of all kinds The Nat has many occupations [1] but the special functions of the rest can be defined with some accuracy

(xii) Beggars and criminals —This is a group of all sorts of 'gipsy' criminals They specialize to a certain extent, in so far as each practises his own particular type of crime [2]

8 Effect of a change of occupation

As civilization progresses, the needs of the community grow more numerous and more complex, and the occupations which supply those needs have to adapt themselves to changing conditions The more

[1] See Chapter IX, par 3 (ii)
[2] Ibid, *passim*

primitive die out fresh trades and industries spring up to supply new demands, and differentiation or specialization of processes takes place everywhere In the past, when the tendency towards heredity of function was still strong, such changes of occupation frequently perhaps generally led to changes in the constitution of the castes concerned At the present day this result is much less common As a rule there will no longer be any change in the caste as a result of a change of function unless either, *firstly* the change of function involves a further change of social status: or *secondly* the new and the traditional occupations are so different that there is no community of interests possible between their respective followers The change when it does occur takes one of the following forms —

(*a*) The new group separates from the parent stock and forms a new caste

(*b*) The new group, after separation affiliates itself to another caste

(*c*) The new group becomes a new endogamous subcaste within the caste

9. Example of changes in constitution of cast consequent on chang of occupation

(I) Formation of new caste

The following are examples of these various kinds of changes —

The Bhuinhar and Taga both claim to be Brahmans who gave up the priestly for a secular life—namely agriculture This involved social degradation, and two new castes were formed

The Singhariyas are Kahars who deserted the traditional occupation of domestic service for the growing of water nuts in particular, and for agriculture in general

The Phansiyas are Pasis who have taken to fruit growing Inasmuch as this is a reputable occupation the change involved a rise in social status

The Dakaut astrologer and the Mahabrahman funeral priest may be of Brahmanical descent if so they became new castes as a result of adopting relatively degrading occupations

The Belwars are Sanadh Brahmans who formed a new caste because they took to the carrier's trade

The Gidhiyas are a settled group of Bawariyas who have become bird-catchers There was here a rise in social status

The Dhusar-Bhargava is of Brahmanical, the Khattri and Bhatiya of Kshatriya origin They all took to trade and had, therefore, to form new castes

The Balahar, Bansphor, and Basor are all branches of the Dom tribe that have settled down to regular occupations and have risen in the social scale, though by a very little

The Bhuiyars, according to one account, are Chamars who have taken to weaving, and now form a new caste in consequence By another account, they, with the Julaha and Orh, were all originally subcastes of the Kori caste and separated from that caste for reasons unknown

The Gharuk left the Kahar caste because he took to serving Europeans

The Kanghigar and the Kanmail are both Nat offshoots that have settled down and taken to regular occupations. Though not of an exalted nature, they have caused them to rise in social status [1]

The Kayastha-Darzi, Kayastha-Mochi, Kayastha-Bharbhunja and Kayastha-Senduriya may be all groups of Kayasthas who have taken to more profitable, though less reputable, occupations than that of writing Others hold that they are more probably, in the first three cases, Darzis, Chamars, and Bharbhunjas who are usurping the name and status of Kayasthas, or the 'Bharbhunjas' may merely be members of the Kaithiya subcaste of that caste

The Mochi is an ex-Chamar He has taken to the profitable trades of the shoemaker and saddler and separated from the humble leather-worker

(ii) Affiliation to old castes

Affiliation was probably the method by which both the old trade-guilds and the subsequent functional castes were built up, as the various subcastes of different origin show.

[1] See Chapter IX, par 15

In modern times I have only met a single instance The Gual Nats formerly singers and dancers, have taken to trade and now call themselves Badi Banjaras

(iii) Formation of new subcastes

The Bhar separated from the Raj Bhar because he took to keeping pigs

The Adham Sudra subcaste of Ahirs was formed as a result of their taking to menial service

Many Kahar subcastes are occupational e g the Dhimar (fishermen) Mahar (women s servants) Kamkar (drawers of water), besides the Gharuk and Singhariya now castes

The Kumhar subcastes are largely occupational the Bardhiya use oxen in their work the Gadhere donkeys the Hateriya make pots by hand instead of with a wheel the Kasgar make cups and the Intpaz bricks

The Baheliya subcastes are Chiryamar and Bajdhar—fowler and falconer

The Gual Nats have divided into Gual who only allow married women to dance and sing and Kanchan who only allow unmarried girls to follow these occupations The Kalabaz are a branch of the Kanchan who have taken to tumbling

A subcaste of the Dhuniya has taken to butcher s work—the Qassaiya

The Khatiks have three occupational subcastes—Rajgar (or masons) Sombatta (or rope-makers), and Mewafarosh (or fruit sellers) A fourth is in process of formation they are Bekanwala (or pork vendors)

10. The traditional occupation in modern conditions

Under modern conditions, desertion of the traditional occupation has become much more frequent than of old and consequent changes in the caste have become much less common For instance, the spread of education has (as we have already seen) driven the Kayastha to other pursuits, partly because there is less need for the professional writer partly because he is now faced with competition in clerical work from the members of many other castes The excise restrictions of modern times have in the same

way driven Kalwars and Pasis from their traditional pursuits of distilling and toddy-drawing to all sorts of avocations. Other occupations have lost their attractions: the mills have reduced the profits of weaving, the Teli has lost materially by the increased use of kerosene oil, the Kahar prefers independence and agriculture to domestic service, whilst betel-growers, market-gardeners, herdsmen, boatmen, earth-workers, priests, and leather-workers have all for various reasons taken largely to cultivation. Appendix II, which is compiled from the census tables of 1911, shows the extent to which the traditional occupation is followed in various castes. It should be explained that the figures refer only to male workers and omit women workers and dependants, whilst all those who returned the traditional occupation as either the primary or the subsidiary occupation are shown as following it.[1]

[1] In considering these figures, it is important to remember certain points:—

(i) The census figures refer to the facts observed on a particular day; it does not, therefore, follow that they represent the normal state of affairs. For instance, the census of 1911 took place during the harvest period: that would mean that many odd job labourers would actually be employed at the time as agricultural labourers and would so return themselves.

(ii) Wages of all kinds, especially agricultural wages, had risen during the ten years preceding 1911: this enabled many agricultural labourers to lease fields, and consequently to return themselves as cultivators.

(iii) A large number of persons who are not traditionally agriculturists own or lease a few fields: and probably all those that do not, still would like to do so. And in 1910 and 1911 the crops had been particularly good. As a consequence, a very large number of artisans and traders of all kinds were making more, *at the time of census*, from their agricultural than from their traditional occupations, and instead of showing themselves as artisans who were also agriculturists they showed themselves as agriculturists who were also artisans. By including in the Appendix all who follow the traditional occupation at all, this error has been partly corrected: but inasmuch as there were six kinds of 'agricultural entry', it is obvious that some artisans may have shown themselves in two of these and omitted the artisan entry altogether.

See *Census Report, U.P.*, 1911, pp. 386-7.

These figures prove the predominance of agriculture not only is the proportion of persons who follow it in the agricultural castes very high but in the non-agricultural castes also it actually exceeds the proportion of persons who follow their various traditional occupations the figures are 430 per thousand as against 422 The latter proportion exceeds 50 per cent only in two of the three trade groups If we exclude the Kalwar on whose occupation the law imposes restrictions, it just exceeds 40 per cent also in the third trade group, but in all other groups the figure never exceeds 20 per cent Of individual castes, the Baranwal shows the highest proportion whilst the Umar Agarwal Kasaundhan Bhangi and Sonar are all at 75 per cent or over the Halwai Gahoi Bharbhunja Dhobi at 60 per cent but less than 75 per cent the Nai Agrahri Barhai Kandu Julaha Teli and Kumhar at over 50 per cent but less than 60 per cent Of these the seven Baniya castes are in a particularly favourable position any trade or industry is traditional to them The settled peace introduced by the British Government with the rise in the standard of comfort, has preserved the prosperity of the Sonar s trade and he has had less reason for deserting his hereditary occupation than many others The conservatism of the Hindu in the matter of food accounts for the high figures of the Halwai and Bharbhunja The Nai barber the Barhai carpenter the Julaha weaver the Teli oil-presser and the Kumhar potter all follow trades necessary in all stages of civilization As for the Bhangi and Dhobi they pursue occupations which are not only necessary but not likely to attract competition anywhere—least of all in India At the other end of the list the Kewat, Chamar and Kalwar all show figures of under 10 per cent the dignity attaching to the name of agriculture would help to account for the first two cases, whilst the Kalwar figure has already been explained Many castes show a figure of 20 per cent or under most of these are relatively low save the Brahman Of the occupations other than the traditional occupation or agriculture that are followed by various castes little need be said Agri

culturists themselves are occasionally labourers or domestic servants Labourers and village menials have representatives in many pursuits, notably industry (skilled artisans), domestic service and 'transport'. (A good many Dhanuk women, as midwives, appeared under arts and professions in the census tables) The learned castes have members in almost every type of occupation Many 'boatmen and fishermen' are labourers, or in various industries Of the trading castes properly so called, many are in various other trades than their traditional trades, some are labourers or in 'transport'.

11 Control of the caste over professional matters

There can be little doubt that in the ancient trade-guilds all matters of a professional nature were strictly regulated by the guild authorities · that has always been the case where trade-guilds have existed, and it has been shown that the guilds of ancient India were both particularly well organized and extremely powerful They tried their own lawsuits, administered their own apprentice laws, and decided their own trade disputes At the present day, though the *panchayats* of functional castes not infrequently deal with professional matters, and when they do, their power is as great as it is in their social and domestic jurisdiction, yet the instances of interference are relatively few, and most functional castes seem to leave such matters alone altogether The reason is no doubt the fact, made plain in the preceding paragraph, that adherence to hereditary occupation is no longer compulsory, or even rigid Some castes, it is true, refuse to allow their members to adopt certain processes or certain methods of work. The Agrahri, for instance, separated from the Agarwal because the former section allows its women to serve in their shops The Khatik similarly objects to his women peddling fruit the Musahar despises a section known as Dolkarha because they carry palanquins But these are not so much instances of interference in professional matters because they are professional, as because they involve social degradation they are cases pertaining to the *panchayat's* domestic rather than its occupational jurisdiction

12 The practice of jajmani

There is, however one professional custom regarding which all castes which possess it are extremely particular, namely the custom expressed in the word *jajmani*' Literally the word *jajman* means he who gives the sacrifice, i e the person who employs a priest to carry out a sacrifice for him but it is now extended to include a client of any kind The *jajmans* of a Brahman priest are his parishioners whose domestic rites at birth initiation and marriage it is his duty and right, to superintend Similarly Chamars Doms, Dafalis, Bhats Nais, Bhangis, Barhais and Lohars all have their *jajmani* or clientèle, from whom they receive fixed dues in return for regular service The Chamar s clients are those from whom he receives dead cattle and to whom he supplies shoes and other articles of leather The Dom s and Dafali s *jajmanis* are begging beats the Dom has also the right to steal, the Dafali to exorcise evil spirits within his beat The Nai has regular clients whom he shaves, and for whom he acts as matchmaker he also performs their minor surgical operations such as drawing teeth and lancing boils Barhais and Lohars make or mend the ploughs, harrows and other implements of a fixed circle Bhats are perambulating genealogists for their clients, visiting them every two or three years and bringing their family trees up to date These *jajmanis* are valuable sources of income, both heritable and transferable they are strictly demarcated, and the crime of poaching on a fellow casteman s *jajmani* is bitterly resented A Dom it is said would not hesitate to hand over to the police such a poacher It should be mentioned that in some castes the women have their own *jajmani* the Dhanuk s and Chamar s wives are both hereditary midwives, and the Nai s wife is the hereditary monthly nurse [1]

[1] A synonym for *jajmanis* is *brit* meaning (caste) dues *Purohiti* is the Brahman s *brit*

13 The boycott

Since the occupational castes work for members of other castes, it follows that in many trade disputes one of the parties is not amenable to the discipline of the *panchayat* In such a case the means used to bring him to reason is the boycott the *panchayat* would forbid its subjects to work for him, and unless he succeeded in placating them, he would remain unserved Sympathetic strikes, though probably uncommon, are possible I have heard of no case in the United Provinces, but a case has been reported from Ahmedabad, in which a banker who happened to be re-roofing his house quarrelled with a confectioner, whereupon the confectioners' guild arranged with the tilemakers' guild to refuse to supply him with tiles The use of this powerful weapon is thoroughly well understood in India Every master knows, for instance, that if he dismisses a servant he runs the risk of finding nobody willing to take his place

14 Instances of the interference of panchayats with professional matters

The following cases of action taken by *panchayats* in professional disputes are of interest —

Chamar (Bahraich and Ghazipur) —

(i) Two Chamars were fined by the *panchayat* for removing dead cattle from the premises of another Chamar's clients

(ii) On a Chamar woman working as midwife for another's client, her husband was fined

(iii) To handle manure of any kind, save cowdung, involves outcasting

(Gorakhpur) A planter tried to stop cattle-poisoning by insisting that his tenants should slash the hides of all cattle that died without obvious cause The tenants were willing, but the Chamars refused to allow their women to act for them as midwives, and the practice had to be stopped

Bhangi —The Bhangi *panchayat* deals regularly with *jajmani* disputes It has more than once been able to organize an effective strike for instance, following a decision of a municipal board to sell the night-soil which had formerly been the perquisite of the scavengers, the

municipal sweepers themselves struck and were able to prevent others from replacing them and the municipal board had to make terms

Lohar (Azamgarh) —The Lohar *panchayat* fixes the rates of wages and protects its members from the com petition of newcomers An employer being dissatisfied with the work of the local Lohars, gave his work to some outsiders The two *panchayats* met and decided that the employer s grievance was real they accordingly allowed the outsiders to finish the job but they had to effect an exchange of clients—an excellent instance of the transfer ability of *jajmani*

Ghogar[1] (Moradabad) —The *panchayat* fixes the rates of wages and outcastes anybody who works at lower rates

Phansiya (Moradabad) —A Phansiya is not allowed to outbid a caste fellow for a fruit garden (Orchard-owners in India usually auction their fruit)

Mirasi[1] (Moradabad) —A dancing girl who dismisses her musicians during the marriage season is boycotted by the Mirasi *panchayat*

Julaha —The Julahas have a loom-tax which is used to fight lawsuits with professional outsiders They also possess a system of apprenticeship and collect money for caste *taziahs*[2]—just as the old trade-guilds did They fine Julahas whose dyes fade and forbid the use of aniline dyes

Barhai —The caste preserves with great care the ancestral methods of carpentry and building

Kathak —These religious troubadours carefully pre serve their ancient ballads and allow nobody to tamper with them

Darzi (Etah) —A Darzi once he has cut into a piece of cloth for an employer must be allowed to finish the job Should he return the cloth with the work unfinished in consequence of some dispute no other Darzi will be

Muhammadan castes.

A *taziah* is a lath and paper imitation of a tomb, carried in the Muharram procession in honour of the martyrs Hasan and Husain.

permitted to finish it, except with the leave of the original Darzi.

Bhishti[1] (Etah).—An employer who was building a house rebuked a Bhishti for unpunctuality. The Bhishti struck work, whereupon all other Bhishtis followed suit, and refused to resume work till the employer apologized.

Nai.—The Nai *panchayat* deals with *jajmani* disputes. On one occasion they boycotted dancing girls who refused to dance at a Nai's wedding.

Dhuniya[1] (Sitapur).—In this caste interlopers are outcasted.

Dhobi (Shahjahanpur).—The Dhobis of Shahjahanpur city refused to wash the Kahars' clothes in consequence of a dispute.

Murao (Fatehpur).—A Murao *panchayat* used to run a co-operative bank. If a member of the caste neglected to pay his dues to the bank, he was outcasted till he did so—an excellent instance of the adaptation of old world methods to new conditions.

The Nanbai,[1] Qassab[1] and Raj[1] all have guilds that deal with professional matters. The Raj is not a caste at all: it is an occupational group recruited from many castes. They have a system of apprenticeship: the apprentice when out of his indentures presents a turban to his master, and feeds the members with cardamoms.

Koiri.—Some twenty years ago, the Koiri opium-growers, being dissatisfied with the rates paid for opium by Government, decided at a monster *panchayat* to refuse to supply at these rates and to stop growing poppy till the rate was enhanced, as was ultimately done.

15. Summary.

An examination of these cases shows that the castes which deal most with trade questions are, for the most part, those which cling most closely to their traditional occupations—the Bhangi, the Nai, the Bhishti, the Darzi. Other functional castes seem to ignore such matters, as is natural since so many of their members are now taking to other than their traditional occupations. But as the cases of

[1] Muhammadan castes.

the Raj the Nanbai and the Qassab show, the members of an occupational group often set up a permanent agency to look after their interests, just as landholders and lawyers do on a larger scale in landowners and bar associations Should such trade groups as bakers, butchers, hackney-cab drivers or domestic servants consider that they have been subjected to oppression they can, and do take concerted action to resist it, whether the oppressor be a private person or a public body though their union in such cases is for a particular purpose and ceases so soon as that purpose is achieved But the tendency which leads to the formation of a landowners association or a *mazdur sabha* [1] is precisely the same tendency which led to the formation of the trade guilds—namely the desire of men with common interests to unite for the protection of those interests against a common aggressor Progress killed the trade-guild progress has already weakened and is slowly killing the functional caste, at all events on its purely occupational side The road lies open to trade unionism

[1] The name of the Labourers Union in Cawnpore, which has been very prominent of recent years.

Principal authorities.—*Census Report U P* 1911
Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N W.P and Oudh* (1896).

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER XII

Castes grouped according to occupation

(M after a name means Muhammadan)

Main Group	*Name of Caste*	*Special Function*
I AGRICULTURE	*Bachban*	Growing of flowers and vegetables
	Baiswar	
	Bajgi	
	Bhar	
	Bhoksa	
	Bhuinhar	Landholding
	Bind	
	Dangi	
	Gauriya	
	Gujar	
	Jat	
	Kachhi	Intensive cultivation
	Khagi	
	Khagi-Chauhan	
	Khangar	
	Kirar	
	Kisan	
	Koiri	Poppy-cultivating
	Kurmi	
	Lodha	
	Mali	Gardening
	Meo	
	Murao	
	Phansiya	
	Rajput	Landholding
	Saini	
	Sainthwar	Landholding
	Singharya	Water-nut cultivation
	Taga	Landholding
	Tharu	
	Dogar (M)	
	Gara (M)	
	Jhojha (M)	
	Malkana (M)	
	Turk (M)	
II LABOURERS AND VILLAGE MENIALS	*Arakh*	
	Beldar	Earth work
	Dhanuk	
	Dhimar	
	Dom	

Main Group	Name of Caste	Special Function
	Durodh	
	Ghasiya	
	Kamkar	
	Luniya	Earth work and salt work
	Musahar	Menials
III. Pastoral Occupations	*Ahar*	
	Ahir	
	Gadariya	
	Gaddi (M)	
	Ghosi (M)	
IV Learned Professions	*Bhat*	Bards and genealogists
	Brahman	Priesthood
	Dakaut	Astrology
	Kayastha	Writing
	Mahabrahman	Funeral priests
	Patari	Aboriginal priests
V Carrying and Peddling	*Banjara*	Cattle-dealing and dealing in carried commodities trade in salt
	Kuta-Banjar	
	Baidguar (M)	
	Mukeri (M)	
	Belwar	Carrying
	Ramaiya	Peddling
	Rehwari	Carrying
	Saiqalgar	Knife-grinding
	Bisati (M)	Peddling
VI Hunting	*Aheriya*	
	Baheliya	
	Banmanus	Collecting of honey
	Bhil	
	Bhuiyar	
	Gidhiy	Bird-catching
	Gond	
	Kanjar	
	Kol	
	Korwa	
VII Boating and Fishing	*Chai*	
	Kewat	
	Mallah	
VIII Trade and Industry unspecified	*Agarwal*	
	Agrahri	
	Baranwal	
	Bhatiya	
	Dhusa Bhargava	
	Gahoi	
	Kand	
	Kasarwani	

	Main Group	*Name of Caste*	*Special Function*
		Kasaundhan	
		Khandelwal	
		Khattri	
		Maheshri	
		Oswal	
		Rastogi	
		Rauniyar	
		Umar	
IX	TRADE AND INDUSTRY SPECIFIED	*Agariya*	Iron smelting
		Barhai	Carpentry
		Balahar	Drumming
		Bansphor	Bamboo work
		Basor	do
		Bhangi	Scavenging
		Bhuiyar	Weaving
		Chamar	Leather-working
		Churihar	Glass bangle making
		Darzi	Tailoring
		Dhobi	Washing of clothes
		Dhuniya	Cotton carding, etc
		Gharui	Domestic service (Europeans)
		Jatiya Chamar	Leather-working
		Julaha	Weaving
		Kahar	Domestic service
		Kanghigar	Comb making
		Kanmail	Ear-cleaning
		Kayastha-Darzi	Tailoring
		Kayastha-Mochi	Shoe making
		Kayastha-Sendurriya	Trade in red-lead
		Kori	Weaving
		Kumhar	Pottery
		Lohar	Blacksmiths
		Manihar	Glass work
		Mochi	Shoe-making
		Nai	Barbers
		Orhi	Weaving
		Pasi	Toddy-drawing
		Sonar	Goldsmiths
		Teli	Oil-pressing
		Thathera	Brass and coppersmiths
		Turaiha	Scavenging
		Gandhi (M)	Perfume-selling
		Ghogar (M)	Well-digging
		Khumra (M)	Millstone-cutting
X	TRADE IN ARTICLES OF FOOD AND DRINK	*Barai*	Betel-selling
		Bharbhunja	Grain-parching
		Halwai	Confectionery
		Kalwar	Liquor trade
		Kayastha-Bharbhunja	Grain-parching

	Mai Group	Name of Caste	Special Function
		Khatik	Grocery and chandling
		Kunjra	Greengrocery
		Kuta-Mali	Rice-pounding
		Tamboli	Betel-selling
		Bhathiyara (M)	Innkeepers
		Bhishti (M)	Water-carriers
		Iraqi (M)	Liquor trade
		Nanbai (M)	Bakers
		Qassab (M)	Butchers
XI.	SINGERS, DANCERS, MUSICIANS BUFFOONS, ACROBATS, ETC.	*Kanchan*	Dancing and singing
		Kathak	Singing of religious odes
		Nat	Tumblers, acrobats, etc.
		Paturiya	Musicians
		Radha	Musicians
		Tawaif	Dancing girls
		Bhand (M)	Mimes and jesters
		D fali (M)	Drummers and hedge priests
		Hurkiya (M)	Musicians
		Ki gariya (M)	Musicians
		Mirasi (M)	Musicians
		Qalandar (M)	Training animals
XII	BEGGING AND CRIME	*Audhiya*	
		Badhik	
		Barwar	
		Bawariya	
		Beriya	
		Bhamapariya	
		Dalera	
		Faqir	Religious beggars
		Habura	
		Karwal	
		Sanaurhiya	
		Sansiya	
		J gi-Pathan (M)	
		Rind (M)	

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER XII

The Traditional Occupation in Sample Castes

Number per 1,000 of male workers following traditional and other occupations

• *Caste*	*Traditional Occupation*	*Agriculture*	*Other Occupation*
Bhar	896	—	104
Bhuinhar	946	—	54
Gujar	949	—	51
Jat	909	—	91
Kachhi	888	—	112
Kisan	880	—	120
Koiri	950	—	50
Kurmi	935	—	65
Lodha	889	—	111
Mali	765	—	235
Murao	966	—	34
Rajput	919	—	81
Taga	932	—	68
Total Group I, Agriculture	910	—	90
Dhanuk	163	398	439
Dusadh	135	725	140
Luniya	111	806	83
Total Group II, Labourers and Village Menials	136	643	221
Ahir	112	837	51
Gadariya	288	630	82
Total Group III, Pastoral Occupations	200	733	67
Bhat	155	626	219
Brahman	114	748	138
Kayastha	337	455	208
Total Group IV, Learned Professions	202	610	188
Kewat	13	896	91
Mallah	166	664	170
Total Group VII, Boating and Fishing	90	780	130
Agarwal	779	110	111
Agrahri	585	337	78
Baranwal	797	170	25
Gahoi	642	240	118
Kandu	523	420	57
Kasaundhan	779	157	64
Umar	792	141	67
Total Group VIII, Trade and Industry unspecified	700	226	74

Caste	*Traditional Occupation*	*Agriculture*	*Other Occupation*
Barhai	531	393	76
Bhangi	767	93	140
Chamar	48	744	208
Dhobi	601	354	45
Julaha	519	309	172
Kahar	393	433	174
Kumhar	511	80	409
Lohar	418	497	85
Nai	598	3 3	89
Sonar	749	182	69
Teli	5 8	396	86
Total Group IX Trade and Industry specified	514	345	141
Barai	205	753	42
Bharbhunja	6 9	277	104
Halwai	683	133	184
Kalwar	67	639	294
Khatik	153	294	553
Tamboli	467	459	74
Total Group X, Dealers in Food and Drink	366	409	225

CHAPTER XIII

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF CASTE[1]

1 The social system and economic life

Every Hindu is a slave of custom From the cradle to the grave custom regulates his every action, almost his every movement It governs his relations alike to God and man and gives shape to his environment, whether social or religious Finally, it exercises a profound effect on his economic condition One of the chief factors which originally produced the caste system was the economic principle of the differentiation of function, in accordance with which the ancient trade guilds and their modern successors, the occupational castes, came into existence, and at the present day it is still the caste system which regulates the nature of a Hindu's occupation, the methods of his manufacture, the limits of his clientèle and the prices of his goods His marriage customs, again, lead directly to extravagant expenditure on dowries and wedding ceremonies His religion demands the punctual and accurate performance of numerous and costly rites His personal law imposes on him the duty of taking over and discharging the debts of his ancestors In fact, a large part of a Hindu's total disbursements, and a still larger part of his total debt, are the result, direct or indirect, of unavoidable social usages

'In an account of the Hindu social system, it is impossible to ignore its economic aspect, though the circumstances of different castes and classes vary so greatly that it can be described only in outline, and illustrated by specific instances '

[1] This chapter is based entirely on, and consists very largely of, quotation from the report of the United Provinces Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, of which the author was chairman His thanks are due to the Provincial Government for allowing him to use this material In subsequent footnotes, the report is quoted as 'B E C 's report'

Of the total population of the United Provinces, 76 per cent depend primarily or solely on agriculture for a living To another 2 per cent agriculture is a secondary occupation whilst yet another 11 per cent residing in the rural tracts, are indirectly dependent thereon No apology is needed therefore, for concentrating attention on the economic circumstances of the peasantry or for dismissing the urban population with a *mutatis mutandis*

2 Economic condition of the peasantry

The principal features of the life of a peasant can be briefly stated as follows

(1) In these provinces outside the hill tracts density is great and the pressure of man on the soil is everywhere heavy and in some places intolerable There is roughly one human being to every cultivated acre

(2) The average holding is small It has been calculated[1] that of the total number of holdings 18 per cent are sufficiently large to enable a farmer to live in reasonable comfort storing up in good years resources with which to tide over a period of distress About 30 per cent of all holdings are too small to support the cultivator and his family unless he possesses some subsidiary source of income The majority, namely 52 per cent are at or just above the economic level that is to say the cultivator who possesses such a holding can make both ends meet only in a good year and by unremitting toil For a large majority of the peasantry of this province life is a constant struggle between a crop and a crop though for an appreciable number the severity of this struggle is actually mitigated by the possession of a subsidiary source of income

(3) The province is peculiarly liable to climatic vicissitudes and peculiarly susceptible to their results Agricultural prosperity seldom remains unbroken for long Agrarian calamities are rarely sufficiently widespread to affect the entire province at once allowing for this fact it can be said that in any given part of the pro-

[1] B.E.C. report, Vol. I p. 99, par 192.

vince out of every fifteen years, three are bad and one indifferent

(4) On the other hand, during the last 30 years and more 'the maintenance of law and order, the defining and recording of rights in land, the continuous reduction in the proportion borne by the land revenue demand to the produce, the rise in the value of that produce and the growth of transferable rights in land have all contributed to enhance the credit of the landholder' [1] And the causes which have enhanced the cultivator's credit have also enhanced his material prosperity, a fact to which the quinquennial cattle census returns bear evidence There has been a progressive increase in the number and value of the peasant's possessions, such as cattle and other animals, ploughs and carts Another proof lies in the spread of moneylending as a subsidiary occupation amongst cultivators, nearly 40 per cent of the agricultural debt of the province was financed by landlords and nearly 14 per cent by tenants [2]

(5) But whilst his credit has been increasing, the cultivator remains not only illiterate but in the broadest sense uneducated Not only is he unable to keep accounts, but he does not understand the advantage of keeping them He does not realize the importance of equating expenditure to income, especially he allows social custom to dictate the measure of his expenditure in many directions

3 Agricultural indebtedness

Such is the economic situation of the cultivator in the United Provinces, a situation which makes indebtedness inevitable It is no doubt true that in no country in the world can agriculture entirely dispense with credit, or entirely avoid debt Agriculture is an industry like any other industrialist, the farmer who wants to increase his assets—to acquire additional land or live stock, to erect a farm building, to make a

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p 432 The word 'landholder' as here used includes both cultivating landlord and tenant

[2] B E C 's report, Vol I, p 105, par 200

well or embankment—must generally borrow the fixed capital that he requires for the purpose Again, like any other industrialist, the farmer must borrow working capital to meet his current requirements indeed, his need is greater than that of most industrialists, since he must spend money for months on end before he receives any return It is only a wealthy farmer who can work without incurring debt and in any country wealthy farmers are rare Agricultural debt in short is no more deplorable than any other kind of productive debt On the contrary except in the most favourable circumstances, it is in every country inevitable and India forms no exception to this general rule But the incurring of debt is one thing indebtedness is another It is not the borrowing of money that brings economic misery in its train but failure to repay the money borrowed It is in this respect that the Indian farmer differs from farmers in other countries To him repayment of debt is peculiarly difficult and it is peculiarly difficult because so much of it is unproductive Indeed a large proportion of the Indian agriculturist s debt is not agricultural at all Amongst the Indian peasantry the most common objects of borrowing are

(1) the purchase of seed plough cattle and milch cattle, and the payment of labourers wages

(2) the purchase of food cloth and other domestic necessities

(3) the payment of land revenue or rent and

(4) the financing of social and religious functions or ceremonies repayment of ancestral debt and more generally the maintenance of the debtor s social status It has been calculated that about 36 per cent of the total debt of agriculturists in the United Provinces is due to the fourth class of objects, in other words to social and religious custom [1] And though this figure relates only to the peasantry the customs which produce it are common to the entire population whether rural or urban

[1] B.E.C. s report, V I I p. 84, par 168.

4 *Various economic effects of social custom*

Custom—social, religious, and legal—impinges on the economic life of the peasant at five different points

(1) Expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies,

(2) restrictions on trade and industry,

(3) caste penalties,

(4) repayment of ancestral debt,

(5) the maintenance of social prestige

5 *(1) Expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies*
(a) Marriage

As we have seen in an earlier chapter,[1] marriage is a religious duty which the Hindu owes not only to himself but to his ancestors and his descendants, and as the normal form of marriage amongst Hindus is marriage by purchase, some measure of expenditure thereon is inevitable The purchase may take the form either of a dowry or a bride price Dowries are usual amongst castes of good social standing and, though not as high as they are in some other parts of India, are sufficiently extravagant Bride prices are generally fixed by caste custom, and are sometimes so small that they obviously date back to a time when the purchasing power of money was much greater than it is now[2] Where the amount is not customarily fixed, its size depends on the circumstances of the bridegroom and his family Apart from dowry or bride price, however, there is always expenditure on the ceremony itself, which is often grossly wasteful Amongst all castes of good status, the burden of it falls on the father of the bride Apart from the dowry proper, he must provide the girl with ornaments, clothing and household utensils He must entertain the bridegroom's party for several days, he must fee the officiating priests, he must feast the assembled brethren and Brahmans As the result of the custom of hypergamy, the bride is generally of lower social position than the bridegroom, with the result that the bride's family, in an attempt to live up to the bridegroom's position, spend much larger

[1] See Chapter III, par 2
[2] See Chapter IV, pars 14 and 15

sums on the wedding than they can afford The groom on his side must purchase suitable presents for the bride, and suitable wedding garments for himself and his suite but as a rule the dowry more than covers his expenditure Amongst low castes on the other hand two customs are prevalent which reduce the burden by distributing it Firstly wherever the dowry paid by the father of the bride is replaced by a bride price paid by the father of the bridegroom that bride price is in practice always appropriated to the cost of the ceremony and secondly the brethren present at the feast are often invited to make a contribution (*takawan*) towards the wedding expenses A brass plate (*thali*) is passed round into which each guest drops a silver coin and it is said that moneylenders sometimes speculate in this *takawan* advancing a sum fixed by agreement and taking the *takawan* in full payment Amongst such a caste as the Rajput to whom display is almost a social duty the birth of a daughter means the beginning of debt The marriage expenditure of a Rajput cultivator has been estimated at Rs 600[1] but that can only be taken as a normal figure It is often much higher than that and amongst the wealthier members of that caste sometimes runs into lakhs Amongst low castes, as a rule marriage expenditure is not so serious a matter and is often repaid within a reasonable period A Kurmi wife it is said costs Rs 32 Nevertheless even the lowest castes are occasionally extravagant An instance is recorded of an Arakh in a village of Hardoi district who spent Rs 300 on the wedding of his daughter though his only sources of income were a holding of under two acres and the wages of occasional labour

6. (b) Other ceremonies

Various other ceremonies besides marriage also often lead to extravagance and debt Amongst the most common of these are the ceremonies of birth and death the *sraddha* and the *upanayana* or thread ceremony Money is also frequently borrowed to enable the

[1] B E.C. report, Vol I p. 39, par 82

devout to undertake a pilgrimage (*tirath*), and occasionally for *kathas* (sacred recitations)[1]

7 (2) *Restrictions on trade and industry*

As has been explained elsewhere, the functional castes are the direct descendants of the trade guilds of India, and many of them are still as strict in regulating trade matters as the circumstances of modern civilization will permit Their *panchayats* are often extremely powerful bodies, dealing with such matters as methods of sale or manufacture, the level of prices, and the limits of the workman's clientèle (*jajmani* or *brit*) Much has already been said regarding the circumstances of the functional castes, and repetition is unnecessary It is worth while, however, to return once more to the matter of the *jajmani* This, as has been previously explained,[2] is a circle of clients from whom the village artisan or menial receives fixed dues in return for regular services The *jajmani* is undoubtedly a valuable asset, and many a villager derives at least as much of his income from this source as from his fields The following instances show the nature and extent of such fees[3] The Lohar and the Barhai, who between them make and repair all agricultural implements, receive from each of their clients at harvest time a headload of unthreshed corn, a headload is estimated to produce about 15 seers of sifted grain After sugarcane pressing, they receive one seer of *gur*. Further, on all ceremonial occasions, they receive a present The Chamar, in his capacity as farm servant, receives the same remuneration as the Lohar or Barhai, plus a seer of grain for every three maunds of corn that he winnows, and another five seers of grain as payment for threshing After sugarcane pressing, at which he assists by feeding the fire, he receives one jar of juice, containing about five seers, from every cauldron (*kundi*) Dead cattle, of course, also

[1] Instances of debt due to all these causes are mentioned in the evidence presented to the Banking Enquiry Committee
[2] Chapter XII, par 12
[3] See B E C 's report, Vol II, p 229, being the result of enquiries made in a village in Meerut district.

belong to him The Nai, who besides serving his clients as a barber, is often their messenger in connexion with domestic ceremonies, receives one pice for every shave or hair-cut in the case of children, and two pice in the case of adults His customary remuneration, payable at harvest is six seers of grain He also assists on ceremonial occasions, as also does his wife and both receive presents whilst amongst Muhammadans, he receives not less than one rupee for every circumcision

These *jajmanis* as has already been mentioned are both heritable and transferable Figures collected by the Banking Enquiry Committee[1] showed that in three districts no less than 84 mortgages of *jajmanis* had been registered most of which belonged to Bhangis (scavengers) some belonged to Mahabrahmans (funeral priests) whilst one was the *purohiti* of a Brahman Finally it seems that in some parts of the province, notably Agra moneylenders also work on a *jajmani* system When the *sahukar* as he is there called accepts a cultivator as his client (*asami*) it becomes his duty to give advances in money for any purpose whatever and also in any kind in which he deals The client on the other hand undertakes to borrow from no one else and to repay the *sahukar's* debts out of his produce before he settles the dues of any other person

8 (3) *Caste penalties*

Chapter VI contains a full description of the working of caste *panchayats* It is common for these to impose heavy fines on an offender against social custom or to order him to give a feast, either to a specified number of Brahmans, or to the brotherhood, or to both This too has an economic effect for as the offender is invariably excommunicated till the sentence has been carried out, he must often find it necessary to borrow for the purpose Naturally villagers are reticent about debts due to this cause and in the evidence collected by the Banking Enquiry Committee only one instance of it was actually mentioned

[1] B.E.C. report, Vol. I p. 137 table 1 and p. 139, par 1

9 (4) *Repayment of ancestral debt*

A very common object of borrowing is for the repayment of ancestral debt. It is also a type of debt from which the debtor finds it peculiarly difficult to free himself effectively, and it accordingly becomes necessary to explain with some precision the nature of the obligation which makes debt heritable. The liability of one person to pay debts contracted by another depends ultimately on the principle, constantly recurring in Hindu law, that legal rights are taken subject to the discharge of moral obligations.[1] These obligations may arise from three completely different sources. There is, *firstly*, the religious duty of discharging a debtor from the sin of his debt; *secondly*, the heir's moral duty of paying a debt contracted by the person whose assets he has inherited; and, *thirdly*, the legal duty of paying a debt contracted by one person as the agent expressed or implied of another. The first duty arises only in the case of a debtor's immediate descendants, his son and grandson. The second arises in the case of any heir or successor in interest. The third is an incident of the Hindu joint family system, and affects the co-sharers of the managing member of such a family. In any one case, two or more of these duties may co-exist, but any one of them is sufficient to constitute the liability. This liability, however, has its limitations. The first liability does not descend beyond the grandson; whilst some authors hold that it covers payment of interest in the case of a father's debt only, and not of the grandfather's. As regards the second liability, the heirs cannot be compelled to pay debts incurred 'for a cause repugnant to good morals'. The third liability is limited by law, as now administered in all provinces except Bombay, to the extent of the assets inherited. But these limitations are not of much practical importance. Though occasionally an heir may be found willing to brand his ancestors with the stigma of im-

[1] Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, 8th edition, p. 394, on which book this account is based.

morality to escape taking over their debts, such cases are rare and when they do occur have often been inspired by the original debtor himself Again a moneylender who is likely to be defeated by either the first or the third exception, would invariably endeavour to induce the heir concerned to execute a promissory note in his own name and such is the force of tradition that he would generally succeed If he does then the debt revives as the debt of the heir himself, and both limitations are avoided Nor is the heir s action in thus going beyond the requirements of the law itself solely due to ignorance of the legal position It is also due to a sentiment inspired partly by respect for the ancestor, partly by religious considerations The effect of this sentiment may be lamentable In the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture the people are so accustomed to be in debt to take it over from their fathers and to pass it on to their sons that they accept indebtedness as a natural state of life [1] Nevertheless, it is a sentiment which it is difficult to condemn and which whether deserving of condemnation or not, yet in the circumstances of Hindu family life will pass away neither easily nor quickly

One of the Hindu lawgivers says he who having received a sum lent does not repay it will be born hereafter in his creditor s house a slave a servant a woman or a quadruped In other words, an unpaid debt is a sin the consequences of which follow the debtor into his next life It is not, therefore sufficient for the heir *to take over the debt* it is also necessary that he should *pay* it From the point of view of the ancestor that is no doubt satisfactory from the point of view of the descendant however, it means merely that the new debt replaces the old and one creditor replaces another There is no doubt that a large amount of fresh debt is incurred to repay ancestral debt The Banking Enquiry Committee collected from various sources 43 sets of figures of classified debt, relating to areas as large as

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture* p. 434.
[2] Vrihaspati *and* Jugannatha Digest, Vol. I p. 334

a tahsil and as small as a few families, but mostly to single villages The total amount involved was 33½ lakhs of rupees in round figures The amount described as due to the repayment of ancestral debt was Rs 4,81,000 or over 14 per cent

10 (5) *Maintenance of social prestige*

The caste system is essentially aristocratic Every caste has its appointed rank, and every individual's status in society is governed by the rank of the caste to which he belongs That status cannot be raised It can, however, be lowered if in any respect a man fail to obey the dictates of custom, and the higher the caste the greater the need for such observance. Some of the customs affecting social status have an important economic bearing

(*a*) A high caste woman must remain in seclusion She can give no assistance in the fields

(*b*) Custom forbids a Brahman or a Rajput to handle the plough The custom is said to be growing weaker, but is still generally prevalent Its origin is uncertain It appears to have no religious sanction, indeed, Manu in referring to the various means of livelihood open to a Brahman, after first mentioning the priestly and military occupations, adds 'if it be asked how he (the Brahman) must live should he be unable to get a subsistence by either of these employments, the answer is that he must subsist as a mercantile man, applying *himself in person* to tillage and attendance on cattle' [1]

(*c*) A high caste man who comes into physical contact with a member of an untouchable caste becomes impure, and must at once wash both himself and his clothes As we have seen elsewhere,[2] this taboo is weakening, and there are devices for evading it Nevertheless it does persist to some extent Most field labourers are 'untouchables', and it is difficult to avoid contact with them in some of the field operations in which a high caste man could assist

The result of this taboo, and of the taboo on handling

[1] *Institutes,* X 82
[2] Chapter V, par 15

the plough is that the high caste man is apt to confine his energies to supervision The economic results of all these customs taken together is, *firstly* to increase the cost of cultivation for since neither the high caste man himself nor his wife can take any active part in agricultural work, they are compelled to employ far more labour than lower castes whilst *secondly* the high caste man is generally content to leave his cultivation to his servants and gives it little personal attention with the result that it is rarely as skilful or productive as low caste cultivation where the Kurmi produces wheat the Brahman produces barley and only second rate barley whilst an expert eye could detect without difficulty which of two neighbouring fields of wheat, belonged to the Kurmi and which to the Brahman

(*d*) Finally, expenditure on various ceremonies is much higher amongst the high castes than the low Not only has a Brahman or a Rajput to spend more lest he lose social standing but he must observe all the twice born rites, whilst the man of lower caste can restrict him self only to the most important and there are sixteen of these all of which cost money [1]

On the other hand members of high castes usually possess certain privileges Both Brahmans and Rajputs, for instance usually enjoy a rental privilege which is often as high as 25 per cent Again they generally possess far more than their fair share of the larger holdings The Brahman moreover, by virtue of his Brahmanhood has a valuable subsidiary source of income in the shape of his priestly and caste dues which include not only fees for services rendered but presents (usually of food) that are made either on ceremonial occasions or by way of a caste penance

1 Comparison between certain castes
(a) Brahman and R jput

In short the high caste agriculturist possesses certain definite economic advantages set off by the costliness of his cultivation inferiority of his crops and the specially high expenditure which he must incur on his social obligations On balance the Brah

[1] For a list of the rites, see appendix to Chapter XIV

I

man certainly gains His debt is by no means as high as that of the Rajput, indeed, it is often relatively low, whilst there are many Brahman moneylenders But the Rajput, as a class, is deeply in debt, as the result of his social obligations and his personal extravagance 'The predominant Rajput is notorious for extravagance and bad husbandry Proud of his birth and traditions, more accustomed to fight than to till, the Rajput is by common consent the worst cultivator of this district (Meerut) He considers it below his dignity to touch the plough himself and his fields are at the mercy of hirelings. . His pride of birth and regard for ancient tradition make him prodigal in his expenditure on marriages and other social functions The traditional custom of marrying his daughter to a social superior leads to reckless borrowing and ends in the mortgage and sale of his land Yet though he is scrupulous to preserve his *izzat* (honour), he is rarely punctual in repayment of his debt "[1] Other high castes are also deeply indebted, notably the Bhuinhar Brahman of the eastern districts, and the Kayastha

12 (b) Prosperous low castes

Social expenditure is also high amongst low castes that have prospered, and accordingly have begun to ape their betters They then give up their low caste customs; they prohibit, for instance, the remarriage of widows, abandon the use of intoxicants, reduce the age of marriage, pay Brahmans large fees to serve their rites, and increase their expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies Finally, they advance a claim to be descended from some higher group of castes, the Brahman, the Chhattri, or the Vaisya

13 (c) Jat and Kurmi

With the Rajput may be contrasted the Jat and the Kurmi 'The Jat takes a high rank amongst the cultivating races of the province He is simply a slave to his farm He never dreams of taking any service except in the army, he is thrifty to the verge

[1] B E C 's report, Vol II, p 228

of meanness and industrious beyond comparison If his crops fail it is sheer hard luck His fault is quarrelsomeness and in litigation he never knows when he is beaten [1] As in litigation so in agriculture—he never knows when he is beaten He spends his life in quarrelling with nature The Jat never says die according to the proverb *Jat mara tab janiye jab terahwin guzar jae* (Never be sure that a Jat is dead till the days of mourning for him are over)

As for the Kurmi he is even more canny in money matters than the Jat, though less quarrelsome Most moneylenders amongst the tenantry are Kurmis It is reported from one registration office in the Basti district where the Kurmis are particularly strong in number, that of the total sum which passes from lender to borrower in a certain tahsil the Kurmi contributes a full half Generally his own indebtedness is small and he has money to put by at the end of the year His ambition is always the acquisition of additional land For the rest there is nothing to choose between the Jat and the Kurmi The Kurmi is always planting whether his crop lives or dies

14. Muslim indebtedness

The main reason for the growing poverty of the Muslims in this province is their high cost of living as compared with that of other communities The Muslim has not adjusted himself to changed circumstances and still adheres to the habits and ways which characterized him during the decadence of Muslim rule in India His standard of living is infinitely more expensive than that of the Hindu and always up to if not beyond his income Hospitality moreover is to him almost a religious duty God s angels do not visit a house where there are no guests The charge of thriftlessness can be more justifiably laid at the door of the Muslim than of the Hindu peasant His economic position is also seriously affected by the Muslim law of

[1] Crooke *Tribes and Castes of the N W P and Oudh* Vol. III p. 40.

inheritance. In a Hindu joint family, widows get merely a life interest, daughters get nothing, and the estate is managed by a *karta* or agent Amongst Muslims, on the other hand, the division of property after a death is inevitable, and often results in breaking up small estates into fragments which are not worth keeping But though the heir's income is thus diminished, his expenditure remains on the same scale as it was before the property was divided, for to cut down his expenses would bring disgrace to the family The Muslim, again, is more litigious than the Hindu The wrath of the petty Muslim *zamindar* is easily aroused, even on matters of minor importance If a tenant has the hardihood to refuse to work for him, he must be punished, if a neighbouring landlord has refused to allow the *zamindar's* cattle to graze in his pasture, he must be taught the wisdom of complaisance And the result is a lawsuit, or possibly a criminal prosecution Meantime, his family pride prevents him from taking up commercial occupations unless he happens to have been born into some trade, and even then he is rarely able to make both ends meet Finally, the Muslim woman, unlike her Hindu sister, must observe *purdah* in all but the lowest rank of society The natural result is that the Muslim falls quickly and easily into debt to an extent even greater than the Hindu Yet whilst he is ready to pay the most usurious rates of interest, his religion does not permit him to lend money on interest, and thus such capital as the Muslim possesses is often rendered inoperative

15 *Figures of indebtedness by caste*

Two sets of figures, collected by the Banking Enquiry Committee, are of interest The first set shows the comparative indebtedness of various groups of castes,[1] and is reproduced below —

[1] B E C 's report, Vol I, p 103

Table showing indebtedness by caste groups

Caste group	Number of persons		Amount of debt (000 s omitted)	Percentage of total debt	Debt per debtor	Debt per person
	Debt free	Indebted				
	'		Rs		Rs	Rs.
I —High castes ..	7 420	9 109	58,87	66	624	356
II —Good agricultural castes ..	5 608	7 287	11 79	14	162	91
III —Market gardening castes	1 345	2 010	2 60	3	129	77
IV —Low agricultural castes ..	3 443	4 417	4 26	5	54	36
V —Non agricultural castes ..	1,210	724	2,79	3	386	144
VI —Other castes	5,838	6 020	8,15,	9	135	68
Total ..	24 964	29 567	88 47	100	299	162

The castes included in the various groups were as follows —

I High castes—Brahman Rajput Musalman Rajput Saiyid Shaikh and Pathan.

II Castes of good agriculturists—Ahar Ahir Kisan Kurmi and Lodha.

III Market gardening castes—Baghban Kachhi Koiri Mali Murao and Saini

IV Agricultural castes of low social status—Bhar Chamar and Pasi

V Non-agricultural castes—Kalwar Kayastha Khattri, and Vaisya.

VI Other castes.

This table proves to demonstration how large a part of the total debt falls, and how heavy its burden is, on the high castes The reasons are not far to seek Not only is there the high caste man's extravagance to account for it, but it also includes by far the greater part of the debt of the big landlords If the high castes were indebted only to the same extent as the average of the rest of the agricultural population, then their total figure would only be 10½ lakhs (round), which means that the balance of their debt, some 48½ lakhs, or 83 per cent, is due to their social position and the expenditure which it entails The lowest figures, as might be expected, are those of the market-gardening castes and the non-agricultural castes, both of whom are relatively few in number, the lightest burden, however, for sufficiently obvious reasons, is that borne by the low agricultural castes. The cultivator belonging to the non-agricultural castes, if indebted at all, is heavily indebted, his figure stands next to that of the high castes On the other hand, as might be expected since this class contains such professional moneylenders as are also agriculturists, only a small proportion, some 38 per cent, are indebted at all The proportion of indebted and debt-free in the various groups is as follows

Caste group	Percentage of	
	Debt-free	Indebted
I	45	55
II	44	56
III	40	60
IV	44	56
V	62	38
VI	50	50
Total	46	54

Except in the non-agricultural group the variations are small

16 Gains and losses of land amongst various castes

The second set of figures show the extent to which various castes have lost or acquired land during the period 1907-8 to 1925-6 They are given in the following table which is adapted from that given in the Banking Enquiry Committee s report [1]

Gains and losses of land 1907–8 to 1925–6

Caste or caste group	Area (thousands of acres 000 s omitted) in		
	1907–8	1925–6	Difference
Rajput	16 341	16 230	– 111,
Muslim	8 963	8,532,	– 431
Brahmans, Bhuinhars and Tagas	8 085	8,366,	+ 291
Other agricultural castes	3 762	3 909	+ 147
Non agricultural castes ..	6,948	7 602	+ 654

The other agricultural castes comprised the Ahar Ahir Bishnoi Gujar Jat and Kurmi the non-agricultural castes were the Goshain Kalwar Kandu Kayastha, Khattri Marwari Sadh and Vaisya Rajputs and Muslims have lost heavily but though the greater part of

[1] Vol. I pp. 125-6.

It will be noticed that in this table gains amount to 1,072,000 acres against losses of 542,000 acres only The explanation is that the figures were taken out only for the castes actually mentioned and not for all castes.

their losses is the result of their indebtedness, yet the gains have not gone entirely to the professional money-lenders A considerable part has gone to the Brahmans and the richer agriculturists, notably Kurmis, amongst whom there are many amateur money-lenders

Principal authority —*Report of the United Provinces Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee* (1930)

CHAPTER XIV

CASTE IN RELATION TO RELIGION

1 The qualifications of a Hindu

Hinduism according to Sir Alfred Lyall[1] is not exclusively a religious denomination but denotes also a country and, to a certain extent a race When a man tells me that he is a Hindu I know that he means all three things taken together—religion parentage and country To these three qualifications however must be added a fourth namely social organization for no man can be reckoned a Hindu who is not a member of a recognized Hindu caste For present purposes race and country can be neglected taken together they mean that a Hindu is a native of India who is not of European Persian Tartar or other foreign descent—which description however is too wide since it would include converts from the Hindu to other religions There remain two qualifications one social and one religious which calls to mind Sir W W Hunter's statement that Hinduism is both a social organization and a religious confederacy The object of this chapter is to examine the relation between these two aspects of Hinduism

The Hindu religion

The Hindu religion says Sir Edward Gait[2] is a complex congeries of creeds and doctrines It shelters within its portals monotheists polytheists and pantheists worshippers of the great gods Siva and Vishnu or of their female counterparts, as well as worshippers of the divine mothers of the spirits of trees, rocks and streams, and of the tutelary village deities persons who propitiate their deity

[1] *Asiatic Studies* (1899).
[2] *Census Report India* 1911 p. 114.

by all manner of bloody sacrifices, and persons who will not only kill no living creature, but who must not even use the word "cut", those whose ritual consists mainly of prayers and hymns, and those who indulge in unspeakable orgies in the name of religion' This description, full as it is, is still incomplete To the list must be added worshippers of natural forces, of demons and ghosts, of ancestors, of saints and heroes The Hindu has the choice of pantheism and animism, of polytheism and monotheism, of demonolatry and hagiolatry, of ancestor worship and animal worship, of metaphysics and magic —of every 'ism' and 'olatry' and worship known to man Throughout the wide range of literature on the subject, there is not a single satisfactory definition of Hinduism,[1] which is not surprising, since it is impossible to define the indefinite Indeed, Hinduism is not so much a single religion, as a congeries of many, and very different, religions And it has become what it is as the result of two distinct processes, *firstly*, the evolution of an Aryan nature worship into theism, *secondly*, the continuous

[1] The following will serve as examples (*a*) 'A hereditary sacerdotalism with Brahmans for its Levites, the vitality of which is preserved by the social institution of caste, and which may include all shades and diversities of religion native to India, as distinct from the foreign importations of Christianity and Islam, and from the later outgrowths of Buddhism, more doubtfully of Sikhism, and still more doubtfully of Jainism' (Sir D Ibbetson, *Census Report, Punjab,* 1881, par 214) (*b*) 'The large residuum that is not Sikh, or Jain, or Buddhist, or professedly Animistic, or included in one of the foreign religions, such as Islam, Mazdaism, Christianity, or Hebraism' (Sir J A Baines, *General Report on the Census of India,* 1891, p 158) (*c*) 'The collection of rites, worships, beliefs, traditions, and mythologies that are sanctioned by the sacred books and ordinances of the Brahmans and are propagated by Brahmanic teaching' (Sir A Lyall, *Asiatic Studies,* 1899, Vol II, p 288) (*d*) 'What the Hindus, or the majority of them in a Hindu community, do' (B Guru Prasad Sen, *Introduction to the Study of Hinduism,* 1893, p 9) (*e*) 'Magic tempered by metaphysics' (Sir H Risley, *The People of India,* 1915 edition, p 233) Of these, the first is inadequate, because it makes no mention of belief, but only of ritual The second merely amounts to the statement that Hinduism is everything which is not anything else The third is a correct definition of only a *part* of Hinduism, i e Brahmanical Hinduism The fourth cannot be regarded as defining a religion at all, though it would, if 'believe', or 'worship', or (better still) both, were substituted for 'do' The last is professedly a mere epigram, yet it is as informing as any of the others

absorption in that Aryan religion of Dravidian and other animistic beliefs and worships

3 *Vedic nature worship*

The religion of the Aryan invaders of India, as reflected in the Rig Veda, is a worship of natural phenomena in the guise of conscious and personal beings, with powers that man cannot control yet amenable to his invocations and sacrifices At first that worship was still unsettled the functions of the deities were not yet defined nor their relative importance and position the greatest to each worshipper was the one whom he was at the moment addressing Later there was some attempt at the construction of a well-ordered pantheon nature was divided into three regions, to each of which were assigned eleven gods one of whom was pre-eminent—namely Indra in the region of the sky Agni in the region of fire and Surya in the sun This was pure polytheism of that particular type which Max Müller calls kathenotheism which means that the deity invoked is for the time being the *only* deity

4 *Vedic ritual*

The ancient Aryan firmly believed in the efficacy of prayer and sacrifice By prayer the suppliant could bend the deity to his will by offerings he gave him vigour to battle with their mutual enemies This power of invocation was called *brahma* (devotion) whilst there was a special god whose name was Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati (lord of prayer) to protect and guide the pious worshipper The natural result was to produce a deep feeling of reverence for those who had knowledge of the various forms of ritual The officiating priest was called Brahman (a suppliant or worshipper) and there can be no doubt that the priesthood even at this time had a position in society which raised him above the rest of the people, save only the royal or military class Rajan or Kshatriya Such was the origin of that caste which has been so powerful in Hinduism for centuries, and such the origin of its power As master of religious ritual the Brahman was already indispensable to a religious community but he was not content Already priest he became theologian,

philosopher, lawgiver, statesman, till by sheer force of learning he raised himself to a position of pre-eminence, even above that of the Kshatriya nobility Of his achievements in other spheres of activity more will be said in another chapter, here we are only concerned with his influence on the development of the Hindu religion

5 *Developments of Vedism*

With the advance of religious reflection, the Vedic nature worship underwent modification in two directions On the one hand, theologians began to realize that their cosmic scheme was incomplete The gods rule nature, but who *made* nature, including the gods? Thus they were led to the conception of a deity, superior to the nature-gods, and creator both of them and of the universe But this conception always remained somewhat vague The exact place of this deity in the pantheon was never definitely settled, even his name was uncertain, for he was described by epithets, which are elsewhere attributed to other gods—Prajapati (lord of creation), or Visvakarma (maker of all things) Still, so far as it went, this meant a move in the direction, not perhaps of monotheism, but at all events of henotheism—i e a polytheistic system in which one god is supreme

Meantime, the metaphysicians, following another line of thought, began to perceive that all sentient beings, all forces of nature, even all gods, were directed by some hidden agency, which was, in all cases and always, essentially the same And so they were led to the conception of an all-pervading divine energy, of which gods and men and natural forces were mere manifestations, into which they were all ultimately absorbed To this energy, they gave the name *brahmă* But such a conception could not possibly satisfy the religious thinker He wanted a supreme god whom he could invoke by prayer, and propitiate by sacrifice, all that the metaphysicians could give him was an abstraction And the metaphysician proceeded to solve his difficulty, in the manner usual amongst metaphysicians, by hypostatizing

that abstraction [1] They turned the neuter *brahmă* into the masculine *Brahmā*, whom they put in the place of his real, though somewhat nebulous, predecessor Prajapati And so Vedism became pantheism, the product of Brahmanical thought

6. Dravidian animism

When the Aryan invaders entered India they came into close contact with indigenous Dravidian races, whose civilization was infinitely less advanced than theirs So far as it is possible to judge on the analogy of their descendants in the more backward parts of the continent their religion was a nature worship of a very primitive kind Their beliefs were frankly animistic their deities were rather ghosts than gods—shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made and no definite idea can be formed Some of them had spheres of influence of their own—cholera smallpox or other diseases some had their local habitations—rock or tree or river The Dasyu s method of worship was propitiation rather than prayer for most of these deities were malevolent of whom the most that man could expect was that they would refrain from doing harm yet if propitiation failed to move them they could be compelled by magic There are undoubtedly traces of supreme beings to be found in Indian animism who are regarded as benevolent but for that very reason they received less attention than those who were ready and able to do mischief

In Bradley trenchant phrase, metaphysicians call the Absol t god, because they cannot think what the devil else it can be
D Caird has said somewhere that unless a metaphysical theory can explain religion, it cannot explain its own possibility and so stands self-condemned. And this pantheistic system fails to solve three riddles—
( ) How in the beginning, did gods and men and natural forces proceed forth from the pre-existing energy ?
(b) How could god, or man (or metaphysicia) apprehend the energy of which he was himself only a transient manifestation?
( ) Why did the energy manifest itself both in and to any being?
So Risley op. cit.
These are what Andrew Lang somewhere calls the high gods of low races

7 Amalgamation of Aryan and Dravidian beliefs

There can be no doubt that, as time passed and the two new races, mainly by intermarriage, blended into one, their beliefs also became assimilated. The Dasyu wife would bring her gods with her into her Aryan husband's home, he would begin to worship them too They were in their own country, he would argue, they might be mightily malevolent, especially to a stranger, it could do no harm, and it might be wise, to conciliate them Meantime, the wife would teach her own religion to her children, and they would teach it in turn to theirs Thus, in course of time, an aboriginal god would take his place with Vedic gods in the family pantheon, whence, if his worship proved sufficiently popular, he would ultimately rise into the national pantheon Again, the Aryan soldiery no doubt brought back new gods from their campaigns with the rest of their booty, as the Roman legionaries did after them [1] Or thoughtful theologians, engaged in a comparative study of religions, would notice that some Dravidian god had functions remarkably similar to those of some Vedic god, just as Julius Cæsar identified various Roman deities among the deities of Gaul,[2] and deciding that there was only one god under two names, they would proceed to worship him under both names And the process has gone on through the ages It is impossible now to trace the effects which the religions of later invaders—Yavana, Pahlava, Saka, Kushan, Huna—left on Hinduism; but it cannot be doubted that they did leave such effects As for Islam, many of its saints and heroes have been deified, and to this day are worshipped, by many pious Hindus [3] The gates of the Hindu Olympus have ever stood open to the strange gods of their neighbours, and they are open still Nor let it be supposed

[1] The most striking instance of this method of acquiring a new religion at Rome is the adoption of the Mithra worship from certain Cilician pirates conquered by Pompey about 70 B C (Risley, op cit, p 243)

[2] *De Bello Gallico*, VI 17

[3] Instances will be given below

that Hinduism is unique in offering hospitality to foreign deities Precisely the same thing occurred in the religions of Greece and Rome indeed the Roman religion borrowed other people s gods even more freely than the Hindu religion

8 *Revolts against Brahmanism*

There came a time, therefore when priestly doctrines and popular beliefs became irreconcilable Brahmanical pantheism, whose only deity was a hypostatized abstraction wholly cold and wholly colourless could not possibly attract worshippers who looked on their gods as personal conscious beings both vigorous and active It is probable too that the sacerdotal class had already begun to arrogate to itself authority in other spheres than that of religion and had thus aroused the resentment of the Kshatriya nobility Both the Brahman and the Brahmanical religion became thoroughly unpopular and the result was that other religions arose of which two were definite revolts against Brahmanism

9 *Buddhism*

Of these revolts the first and far the most important was Buddhism which takes its name from its founder Gautama Buddha, a prince of the Sakya clan of Kshatriyas who lived in the sixth century before Christ It ignored the existence of God and so was rather a philosophy than a religion but it differed from all Brahmanical systems of philosophy because it linked ethics to metaphysics by its central doctrine of *karma* or automatic retribution This doctrine lays down that the nature of a man s actions and desires in each life determines the form of his next life if the bad that he has done outweighs the good he will descend to a lower existence if the good outweighs the bad he will rise to a higher until at last *karma* has run its course and he attains to *nirvana* the absolute extinction of individuality The stress which this doctrine lays on the practice of virtue made it acceptable to many Buddhism made rapid progress and for centuries was the state religion in many parts of India though it is less certain that it ever became the creed of

the people[1] But for the present argument, its importance lies in the practical conclusions that are derived from it Buddhism denies the sanctity of the Vedas and the efficacy of ceremonial and sacrifice, and rejects the claim of the priesthood to be regarded as sole masters and teachers of divine knowledge It was, therefore, in definite opposition both to Brahmanism and the Brahmans

10 Jainism

Jainism, which arose about the same period, was at one time regarded as an offshoot of Buddhism, which, in respect of its philosophical doctrines, it much resembles. It is now held to be an entirely independent system Its founder, Mahavira,[2] was, like Buddha, a Kshatriya It differs from Buddhism mainly in the possession of objects of worship, namely the twenty-four Tirthankaras—deified men who have 'made the pilgrimage', i e have attained perfect knowledge The two rivals to the title of founder, Mahavira and Parasnath, are respectively the last and last but one of these demi-gods

11 Saivism

Buddhism has long since disappeared from Northern India, Jainism is still alive Two other new religions, which can be regarded as popular modifications of Brahmanism, arose about the same time, and are also flourishing The first is Saivism, the origin of which is obscure Some hold that it is an offshoot of Buddhism, in which case the god Siva represents Buddha the ascetic It is true that by some of his worshippers he is regarded less as a god than as a devotee, all-powerful with the gods But the theory is untenable, for it does not explain Siva's two most important attributes, i e destruction and regeneration As destroyer, he is identified with, and bears the name of, the Vedic god Rudra, lord of the tempest, a fierce and destructive deity, who sends death and disease to men and

[1] It seems that though Buddhist (and Jain) monks acted as spiritual teachers, the services of Brahman priests were still utilized for the ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death *Census Report, U P*, 1901, p 66

[2] Some hold that the founder was Parshva or Parasnath.

cattle As regenerator he is Siva—the auspicious or fortunate one The word is used in the Vedas only as an adjective but in this shape Siva has certain points of resemblance with another Vedic deity, Pushan the giver of material blessings and connected with the marriage ceremony who is also called Pashupa as Siva is called Pashupati With these affinities, it seems certain that Siva is a deity of Vedic origin But he has many names and many aspects, and there can be little doubt that some of them are imported from non Aryan religions One of his forms and names, for instance is Bhairava [1] and Bhairava is simply an adaptation of Bhairon who is essentially a village godling the protector of fields and cattle Another perhaps the commonest of his names is Mahadeva and Mahadeva is an object of worship to many low castes whose other deities are entirely non Brahmanical Again the *linga* worship which is associated with Siva as regenerator is entirely alien from Vedism though characteristic of animism Saivism therefore is to be regarded as an Aryan religion but overlaid with non Aryan cults

ii Vaishnavism

The second religion was Vaishnavism of its origin thanks to the researches of Sir R G Bhandarkar we now know something definite, though much is still obscure Vishnu originally was one of the lesser Vedic gods, a genial benevolent being renowned for having crossed the universe in three steps, but otherwise of no special prominence During the Puranic period he acquired high esteem and possibly because his three steps were connected with the rising midday, and setting sun

[1] One of the curious facts in Hindu mythology is the extreme popularity of Bhairon. As Bhairava he is not only a form of Siva, but the protector of the Jains. He is also Kāl Bhairon, both in the Punjab and Rajputana, who drives away death. In Bombay he is Bhairoba, a destructive god. In Benares he is Bhaironath magistrate of the city, and guardian of all Siva temples. Finally he is connected with Sakhi Sarwar and is one of the many who are reckoned amongst the Panchpir Another of Siva epithets is Mahesh, which also means the great god.

[2] See his book *Vaishnavism, Saivism and the Minor Religions* (1914).

there was a tendency to identify him with, and even to exalt him above, the great Vedic sky-god, Indra, as is proved by some of Vishnu's later names, such as Vasudeva and Vaikuntha At the same time, the god of the Vrishni or Satvata race was Narayana, son of Dharma (right conduct) and Ahimsa (non-killing) A god of such parentage could not tolerate sacrifice; and in due course Vasudeva, a Vrishni sage, promulgated a reformed religion, which is said to be that contained in the Bhagavadgita In some obscure way, Vasudeva was first identified with Krishna, a *rishi*, and one of the authors of the Vedas, and then deified as Narayana himself Later, Narayana was identified with Vishnu, the link being Vasudeva, who was connected with both, and Vasudeva-Krishna is the name given to Vishnu's eighth *avatar* or incarnation, which he assumed to slay the demon Kansa At a later date still, Vasudeva-Krishna was identified with Gopala-Krishna, the god of the Abhiras, a non-Aryan pastoral race Vaishnavism, therefore, was, like Saivism, an amalgam of Vedic and non-Vedic beliefs

13 *Brahmanical compromise*

The policy of the priesthood in dealing with these revolutionary religions was one of compromise With the object of regaining their hold on the minds of the people, they proceeded to incorporate into their system the most important of the various objects of popular devotion Siva and Vishnu were joined to Brahmā to form a second triad of great gods,[1] a triple impersonation of the universal spirit into which they would ultimately be absorbed The male nature of this triad was then supplemented by associating with each member a female energy (*sakti*) Saraswati, goddess of eloquence and learning, was assigned to Brahmā as his consort, Sri or Lakshmi, goddess of fortune, to Vishnu, and Parvati, daughter of Himavat, god of the Himalayan mountains, to Siva Parvati, at all events, was probably a non-Aryan goddess, and under one or other of her

[1] The first triad was Indra, Agni, and Surya, the Vedic deities,

numerous names[1] was already extensively worshipped so that there was no doubt, a special reason for giving her a place in the Brahmanical system It has often been asserted that the Brahman priesthood was responsible for grafting into Hinduism all that mass of primitive cults that now form part of it or in other words that they deliberately exerted themselves to carry out that amalgamation of beliefs that has been described above Some go so far as to say that they did so for their own gain If to give to a Brahman is to worship God the larger the circle of worshippers the better for the Brahman and if new worshippers will not leave their gods behind them it would be foolish to exclude them on that account [2] In that case the Hindu religion would not be the result of natural evolution but a monstrous artificial edifice The facts do not bear out such statements There are numerous forms of popular worship at the present day with which Brahmans have no concern whatever They had undoubtedly to make concessions to popular opinion but they only did what the priesthood of every important religion has had to do in similar circumstances But no priesthood has ever made more concessions than necessary it is absurd to suppose that the Brahmans made as many as possible It is, no doubt true that Brahmans are not all of the same status or indeed—if the legends are to be believed—of the same descent and Brahmans of a lower class may be willing to assist their clients in worships that Brahmans of a higher class would scorn to recognize But the Brahmans with whom we are now concerned the old Aryan priesthood and its descendants are to be reckoned among the highest class

[1] Durga, Kali Uma M hadevi Kalika, Bhawani are some of the best known perhaps the commonest is Devi. The account here given is the usual account but it is probably more correct t say that the Brahman theologian would regard these deities, not as forms f Parvati but as separate impersonations of the *sakti* or female energy

[2] A dictum of Si D Ibbetson, apud Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Eth graphy*

Such are the processes by which Hinduism has become what it is to-day—a heterogeneous mass of beliefs and practices ranging from the lowest to the highest At one end is animism, which regards life as a chaos of terrors, brought about by a company of shadowy and generally malignant powers, which strives to reduce that chaos to some sort of order either by cajoling those powers with gifts, or compelling them with magic At the other end is theism—a belief in personal gods, yet, because those personal gods are the result of a train of metaphysical speculation, a theism which is liable to merge into pantheism And between these extremes, room has been found for every form of belief and practice that the human imagination can conceive According to the popular reckoning, Hinduism possesses three hundred and thirty million deities—of whom a man may revere one, or few, or many, or none, as he pleases

14 Modern Hinduism

In such circumstances, it is manifestly impossible to predicate 'orthodoxy' of the religion or its adherents Orthodoxy is defined as correct or universally accepted opinion on matters of religious belief or doctrine, but there is no opinion regarding Hinduism that can be described as 'correct', to the exclusion of all other opinions, still less as universally accepted And when Mr Crooke and other writers apply the adjective 'orthodox' to Hinduism, what they mean is that body of doctrines and beliefs which are supported by the highest, i e the Brahmanical, authority, and which are also actually held by the majority of Hindus In other words, we get back to a modification of B Guru Prasad Sen's definition orthodox Hinduism is what the Brahmans teach, and the majority of Hindus believe

15 'Orthodoxy' and Hinduism

Brahmanical theologians reckon five principal manifestations of the divine spirit, namely, Siva, Vishnu, Sakti, Surya, and Ganpati Sakti, as already explained, is deity in female form, personified as wife of Brahmā, of Siva, or of Vishnu, or one of the numerous goddesses

16 Brahmanical Hinduism

that are usually regarded as different forms of the second of these Surya is the sun god Ganpati is Ganesh, son of Siva god of wisdom and captain of the host of *inferior deities* they have few followers in this province Brahma disappears altogether Any Hindu, whose principal worship (though not necessarily his *only* worship) is addressed to one or more of these great gods may be regarded as orthodox I calculate that, on this definition some thirty seven out of the forty millions of Hindus in this province fall into this category Further out of those thirty seven millions some four millions have been initiated into one or other of the recognized sects—Saiva Vaishnava or Sakta the nature of which is sufficiently explained by their names and Smarta who *worship equally all the five great gods* Of the sectarians of this province nearly half are Vaishnavas some six hundred thousand are Saktas or Smartas the rest are Saivas But on the other hand the total figure includes a number of low castes who worship, amongst a variety of non Brahmanical deities, only one of the great gods, usually one of the more common *sakti* forms —Kali Durga, Bhawani Devi In such cases, it is always possible that the single god on whose worship the claim to orthodoxy would depend is of aboriginal rather than of Aryan extraction And when it also appears that in many such cases that particular caste is not served by Brahmans there can be little further doubt on the subject

17 *The 'low gods' of high castes*

Many castes of good social position even though they *are orthodox* in the sense described pay reverence to other gods that cannot be regarded as either Brahmanical or great The following are only a few instances of what (in imitation of Andrew Lang) may be called the low gods of high castes It must not, of course be supposed that all members of these castes worship all—or even necessarily any—of these deities

(*a*) The Ahiwasi is a caste of agriculturists that claims Brahmanical descent Besides Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi they worship Hanuman the monkey-god,

Dauji,[1] a name for Baladeva, Krishna's elder brother; and Saubhari Rishi, a deified ancestor

(*b*) The Bhat, another pseudo-Brahmanical caste, worship, in addition to the great gods, Mahabir, a word which means 'great hero', and is applied alike to Vishnu, to Garuda, Vishnu's steed, half eagle and half man, and to Hanuman They also revere Bare Bir, a deified ancestor, and Birtiya, protector of cattle

(*c*) Among Rajput clans, the Kanhpuriyas worship Mahisa Rakshasa, or Bhainsasura, the buffalo demon, the Kachhwahas' family goddess (*kuladevi*) is the Jamwahi Mahadevi of Jaipur, whilst they also worship Baladeva, the Bais worship both the snake, and a tribal goddess called Mathote, apparently a deified widow who became a *sati*

(*d*) Amongst the Vaisya castes, there are many peculiarities of belief Agarwals reverence the snake, as well as certain trees Agrahris, Kasarwanis and Kasaundhans worship Mahabir, and also the Panchpir (of whom more below), whilst the Khandelwals have some two dozen tribal goddesses, one to each trio of their *gotras*

(*e*) The Jats, as might be expected of a tribal caste, pay reverence to a host of deities of all kinds—Dauji, Guga Bir, one of the greatest of the snake kings, Lakhdata,[2] another name for the famous Muslim hero Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, who slew a giant and a jinn, Chamunda Devi, one of the eight 'great mothers',[3] Shaikh Saddo, a Muhammadan saint who found a magic lamp, like Aladdin, but, unlike Aladdin, misused it and was torn to pieces by the jinn, various ancestors and deified worthies of the tribe, and, finally, Burha Baba, the 'old master', a bad-tempered old shepherd, apt to afflict those who annoy him with boils

(*f*) The Kurmis, an important agricultural caste, worship Mahabir and Sitala, the smallpox goddess, Surdhir and Babi Pir, both household godlings, whilst the turnip seems to be a totem, since they may not eat it

[1] *Dau*—a term for elder brother
[2] *Lakhdata*—giver of lakhs
[3] *Ashta matri*

(*g*) The Sonars, or goldsmiths, have a large array of gods and godlings—the Panchonpir, Hardaur or Hardeva Lala the cholera godling Phulmati, younger sister of Sitala and Miran Sahib an arch magician, who led the Saiyid army in battle and fought even after a cannon ball had removed his head

18 Animistic beliefs

Some thirty castes[1] numbering some three millions of people, appear to ignore the great gods altogether and can therefore be regarded as unorthodox of which the largest are the Bhangi Bhar, Dharkar, Dom Khatik Kol Luniya Musahar Nat and Pasi The following may be taken as average examples of the beliefs of these castes

(*a*) The Baheliya is a tribe of fowlers and hunters Their deities are Parihar one of the Panchpir and Kalu Bir, a deified ghost Hardaur Lala the god of cholera Kala Deo a household godling and Miyan Sahib the saint of Amroha another name for Shaikh Saddo

(*b*) The Bhar one of the old aboriginal tribes, has a mixed assortment of deities The chief is Agwan Deo whose name is variously interpreted to mean the guide the fire-god and the fever god Others are Kalika another name of Sitala and Phulmati her sister Parihar one of the Panchpir and two deified ghosts, Banru Bir and Kashi Das Baba The last is sometimes said to have been a Brahman sometimes an Ahir he may be the same as Kashi Baba the godling of murrain who in life was a Brahman who was slain by an Ahir

(*c*) The Dharkar caste is usually regarded as an offshoot of the Dom tribe its principal occupation is making fans, baskets staves, and other similar articles out of bamboo which they regard as a sort of totem Their deities are thoroughly animistic, and many of them un-

[1] Agariya, Baheliya, Bansphor Basor Bawariya, Beldar Beriya Bhangi, Bhar Bhuiyar Dhangar Dharkar Dom, Domra Ghosiya, Kanjar Khairwa Kharwa Khatik Kol Korwa, Luniya, Majhwar Musahar Nat, Pankha, Parahiya, Pasi, Patari Saniya.

One of the seven sister goddesses of smallpox is Agwani where the name must mean fever and according to one legend, Agwan Deo is brother of those seven.

common The best known are Birtiya, who is usually a guardian of cattle, but to the Dharkar is a household godling, the ubiquitous Panchpir, and Dulha Deo, the famous 'bridegroom god', killed by lightning on the way to fetch his bride, and turned into stone Others are Banhiya Bir and Deonath, two deified heroes of the tribe, a mountain god called Pahar Pando, Durasin, who may represent Jarasandha the demon (*asura*), and lastly Angarmati Bhawani, the goddess who sends sunstroke In addition, they worship the village gods (*deohar*) collectively, ghosts (*bhūt*), of whom they specially fear those of people who have been drowned (*burna*), or killed by a tiger (*baghaut*), and their ancestors (*purkha log*, the old people)

(*d*) The Kol is a tribe of aboriginal jungle folk, akin to the Bengal Mundas Their principal deities are Gansam, Raja Lakhan, Bansapti Mata, and Dulha Deo The first named[1] is a deified hero who was devoured by a tiger, and now protects others from the same and other dangers Raja Lakhan is the deified son of Raja Jai Chand of Kanauj, who was killed by Shahab-ud-din Ghori in 1194 A D, why the Kols should adopt him as a god is not clear, though a pillar near Chunar, which has an inscription in his honour, suggests that his dominions may have included the Kol country Bansapti Mata is the 'mistress of the jungle', it is unsafe to enter her domain unless she has first been propitiated Other minor deities are Chithariya Bir, 'lord of tatters', who protects his votaries against disease if a rag is hung in the tree where he lives, Raksha and Phulmati, the village and jungle godlings, demons, sprites (*prēt*), and the sainted dead

(*e*) The Luniyas, a Dravidian caste whose special occupation is earthwork of all kinds, are remarkable for a preference for Muhammadan deities They worship not only the Panchonpir, but also the Prophet, Fatima, Hasan, and Husain Their other deities are less interesting—

[1] An attempt has been made to hoist him into the Brahmanical pantheon under the name of Ghanasyama (black cloud), an epithet of Krishna

Mahabir and Agwan are the chief, with Kul Deo, which, however merely means the household god

(f) The Musahars, another Dravidian tribe, also have a varied pantheon They greatly fear ghosts especially those of Brahmans and Rajputs whom they call Daitya Nats whom they call Nat and Pahlwan (wrestler), Ahirs and Telis, whom they call Masan They worship two tribal ancestors Deosi and Ansari the latter was the first Musahar to carry a doolie and by a pun is called Dula Deo Another of their gods is Sadalu Lal who may be an ancestor too Of better known godlings, they revere Banraj the forest king Baghaut and Mahabir Gansam and Bansapti whom they regard as man and wife and whose wedding they celebrate yearly They also worship the village godlings collectively

19. *Ancestor-worship*

Certain types of worship are widely practised by orthodox and unorthodox Hindus alike of these the most important is ancestor worship Brahmanical Hindus, like other Aryan races such as the ancient Greeks and Romans, have always attached the greatest importance to the worship of their ancestors But the practice is not peculiarly Aryan it is also widely prevalent amongst those low Hindu castes whose beliefs like themselves are of non Aryan descent Nor can the fact be explained by supposing that in this matter these low castes have merely imitated their Brahmanical neighbours for the Dravidian worship differs widely from the Aryan not only in respect of its ritual but of the conceptions which underlie it The object of the annual *sraddha* ceremony of an orthodox Hindu is to accelerate the progress of the soul through the various stages of bliss to complete beatitude—in other words to benefit the ancestors themselves The ritual consists in the making of offerings not only to the *manes* of the ancestors but also and more importantly to the gods The Dravidian animist on the other hand worships his ancestors, because he fears them He believes that unless he propitiates them they will return to earth and make themselves unpleasant In other words, he worships them for his

own benefit, not theirs, and makes offerings to them only because they are themselves deities, or what pass for deities in his theology A few instances will suffice to prove these statements

(*a*) The Bhuiya and the Kol worship their father and mother (though not more distant relatives), because they believe that they will otherwise trouble their descendants with bad dreams, and cause disease The annual sacrifice is a goat and a fowl, if the suppliant can afford it, otherwise rice and pulse scattered about the courtyard will serve

(*b*) The Agariya offers a fowl once a year to the dead generally, and in addition a little water to the father and mother This suggests another difference between Dravidian and Brahmanical ancestor-worship, the Dravidian practice is due principally to a general fear of ghosts, but the ancestors get additional attention because, as having special knowledge of their descendants, they are specially dangerous

(*c*) The Cheio is decidedly more advanced towards orthodoxy than most similar tribes, for he is served by Brahmans of respectable standing, and is beginning to adopt the regular *sraddha* Nevertheless, he also worships his ancestors with precisely the same ritual as the Bhuiya, and holds precisely the same views of their malevolence Much the same is true of the Dharkar

(*d*) The Biyars are even more advanced than the Cheros, their worship is something like the ordinary *sraddha*, and they feed Brahmans on that occasion Nevertheless, they still retain their old animistic fears of their ancestors' readiness to harm them

(*e*) The Dhangar, on the tenth day after death, sacrifices a pig, cuts off its feet and snout, and buries them in the courtyard under a stone Then he strikes that stone with another, and adjures the ghost of the deceased (who has in fact been cremated), to rest in peace in the grave made for him, even if a magician (*ojha*) should try to wake him They have no further worship, because this ceremony is held sufficient to lay the ghost for ever

(*f*) The Ghasiyas, though in other respects a most pri-

mitive tribe, seem less afraid of their ancestors than others like them They offer them a meal once a year and pray to them to be kind to themselves and their cattle The Kanjars also regard their ancestors as comparatively well disposed and as a result only make an offering to them on festive occasions [1]

(g) The Majhwars seem to worship their ancestors, as distinct from ghosts generally only when a son or daughter is married or when somebody has a dream for dreams are sent by ancestors, and show that they need propitiation

It may be added that this Dravidian ancestor worship, when it is annual and not occasional usually takes place at the Holi festival in March not like the *sraddha* in Kuar (the end of August)

10. Deification of saints and heroes

From the worship of ancestors to the worship of other human beings is an easy transition and Hinduism has admitted to its pantheon many persons who were remarkable either in their lives or in their deaths One instance of such a deified hero has already been mentioned namely Raja Lakhan the god of the Kols but there are many more Valmiki for instance author of the *Ramayana* by a strange freak of mythology has become a god of the Bhangi caste, under the name of Balmik Others are Maheni the *sati* goddess of the Hayobans Rajputs of Ghazipur who died in 1528 A D and Hardaur Lala the murderer of Abul Fazl in Akbar s reign who was poisoned by his mistress in 1627 A D and is now the god of cholera Even criminals have been deified for instance Gandak a Dom godling who was hanged for theft at some unknown date And according to Sir Herbert Risley canonization has occurred in quite modern times Keshab Chandra Sen one of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj narrowly escaped deification in 1884 Sivaji the great Mahratta chieftain of the 18th century is worshipped at Ratnagiri whilst

[1] This is a striking proof of the view advanced by Sir H Risley amongst others, that in animism, the more benevolent the deity the less attention he is likely to get from worshippers (op. cit. p. 226)

everybody has heard of John Nicholson's experiences—who proved, if all that is related of him be true, a somewhat irascible deity

21 *Muhammadan saints*

But perhaps the most numerous class of deified saints and heroes are the Pirs and Saiyids, who are of Muhammadan origin, but are revered both by Muslims and Hindus. The Persian word *pir*[1] means saint, whilst Saiyid, when used in this connexion, appears usually to be, not the title appropriate to descendants of Ali and Fatima, but a corruption of the Arabic word *shahid*, which means a martyr in the cause of Islam. The difference between *pir* and *saiyid*, therefore, is the same as between saint and hero, but the two terms seem to be used indiscriminately Ghazi Miyan, for instance, the chief of the Panchpir, whose real name was Saiyid Salar Masaud, could not reasonably be described as a saint, but he was indubitably a *shahid*, having been slain in battle with Suhal Deo, a Bhar chieftain[2] Several of these Muhammadan worthies have already been mentioned amongst the deities of various castes, for instance, Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, better known in the Punjab, whose real name was Saiyid Ahmad, Shaikh Saddo, also called the Miyan of Amroha, Aladdin's counterpart, much revered by women who desire to obtain the upper hand of their husbands, Miran Sahib, the great magician of Ajmer, Guga Pir, *alias* Zahir Pir or Zahir Diwan, the snake-king—though in this case it seems more probable that the saint was originally Hindu, with the name of Guga Bir, and was imported not from, but into, Islam[3] Other famous saints, to whose shrines Hindus as well as Muslims resort, are Shah Mina (died 1478) at Lucknow, whose assistance is valuable in legal difficulties, Baha-ud-din Madar Shah at

[1] The similarity of *pir* with the Hindi *bir* (Sanskrit *vir*), which means hero, and is a common adjunct to the name of the deified, may have facilitated the adoption of the Muslim saint by Hinduism See the story of Guga Pir, just below

[2] And incidentally he was *not* a 'Saiyid', he was the nephew of Sultan Mahmud, and therefore a Turk

[3] According to one story, he was first converted to Islam

Makkanpur in the Cawnpore district and Ala ud-din Sabir at Piran Kaliar in Saharanpur

22 *The Panchpir*

Of all these deified worthies of Islam the Panchpir, or five saints, possess the largest number of adherents Both Hindus and Muham madans pay reverence to them they are worshipped by some fifty-three castes of whom forty-four are wholly or partly Hindu whilst of that number no less than sixteen are of good social standing, and only eight can be reckoned as unorthodox At the census of 1901 when the statistics of sects were fully recorded the num ber of their Hindu followers alone was put at over 1¾ millions but that covered only those to whom this was the *principal* worship I reckon that the total population of the Hindu castes who worship these five saints amounts to some 13½ millions

The original five were the Prophet Ali Fatima, Hasan and Husain which suggests a Shia origin for this worship but most modern Indian Muslims usually substitute five lesser saints whilst some recognize only four Whatever the number however the composition of the group varies greatly Amongst Hindus indeed the variations are so numerous that it is impossible to get any consistent account of these saints In the small district of Benares alone, Mr Crooke discovered five different lists, with a total of eleven names between them —viz Ghazi Miyan (five lists) Amina Sati (four lists) Suthan Ajab Salar and Buahna (three lists each) Pari har (two lists) and Bhairon Bande Kalika, Shahza and Bahlano (one list each) Other names that are often found are Subhan Barahna, Sah Jamal Sahja Mai Sah-jadi and Hathile whilst the Kalwar caste also includes Brahma Deota and Bare Purukh The cult centres round Ghazi Miyan whose real name was Saiyid Salar Masaud, the nephew of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni He

[1] Examples are —Panchpi Baba-ul-Haq Shah Shams T briz, and Makhd m Jahaniya Jahangasht, all of Multan, Shah Ruqn-i-Alam Haz rat f Lucknow and Baba Shaikh Farid-ud-din f Pak Patan. Chirpi ; Ali Khwaja Hasan Basri Khwaja H bib Azami and Abdul Wahid Kufi.

led a crescentade into Hindustan at the age of sixteen, overran the Doab and Oudh, and in 1034 A D, before he had reached his twentieth birthday, was killed in battle near Bahraich, and buried in a spot which he had chosen for his dwelling-place His godhead is probably due to his youth, he is a deity of the same type as Adonis and Dulha Deo, snatched away by an untimely death in early manhood Of the rest, several are obviously of Hindu extraction Bhairon, though a Hindu god, has a certain connexion with Islam, because he is regarded as the 'minister' of the great saint Sakhi Sarwar Sultan Kalika is simply a form of Parvati, Siva's consort. Bande and Sahja Mai both seem to belong to the class of 'mother goddesses'. the former is worshipped singly by half a dozen castes Brahma Deota and Bare Purukh (great old man) are both deified men, whom the Kalwars describe as respectively a Brahman follower, and the spiritual guide, of Ghazi Miyan Parihar, by one caste, is described as the son of Ravana, king of the Rakshasa demons, what his precise connexion with the young Muhammadan hero may be, is not obvious Others seem to belong to Islam Ajab Salar merely means 'the wonderful leader', but the true name is almost certainly Rajab Salar, who was one of Saiyid Salar Masaud's lieutenants, the Kotwal of the army [1] Subhān is an Arabic word meaning 'praise', and might be part of a name, Suthān looks like a popular corruption of it Buahna and Barahna seem to be different forms of the same word, one caste identifies Barahna with Father Abraham Pir Hathile was the son of Ghazi Miyan's sister, whilst Sah Jamal is a saint with a shrine near Aligarh Amina was the name of the Prophet's mother, and it may be, as one caste that makes a speciality of her worship believes, that she was the original of Amina Sati,[2] the faithful wife, though the connexion between the Prophet's mother and Ghazi Miyan is not obvious It is impossible even to

[1] One caste calls him Rajab Salar His tomb at Bahraich is considered a sacred place

[2] Amina Sati, by some castes who worship her singly, is also called Amina Devi (the goddess Amina)

guess who Bahlano Shahza and Sahjadi may be[1] Some of these deities—Ghazi Miyan, Amina Sati Parihar, Bande—are worshipped singly as well as in company with the rest of the quintette The tomb of Ghazi Miyan at Bahraich is a place of pilgrimage

83 The worship of implements and weapons

Every year usually at the Sri Panchami festival in spring or the Dasahra festival in autumn, it becomes incumbent on every religious-minded person to worship the implements or insignia of the vocation by which he lives This statement of Sir Herbert Risley s is perhaps an exaggeration but there are undoubtedly many castes some of high position who carry it out Rajputs worship (or used to worship) their swords Kayasthas worship their pens and inkstands jewellers their pincers and blow pipe, bankers their ledgers grain merchants their weights, carpenters their saws and chisels barbers their razors and scissors cotton printers (*chhipis*) their dies In some cases the practice is semi-traditional the classical instance is the thug s worship of the pickaxe which he used to bury his victims Similarly the Amethiya Rajput worships a cobbler s tool (*ranpi*) because their ancestress, after a massacre found refuge in a Chamar s hut and the Bandhalgoti Rajput worships the *banka* or knife with which a Dharkar splits bamboos, because of a traditional connexion with that tribe, though it is now called a poniard the symbol of Narwar their ancestral home Sometimes the tool is regarded as the vehicle of a god Barhais worship Visvakarma in the shape of a yard measure Lohars worship Mahadeva and Devi in the shape of their seat and their anvil In at least one case though there is no actual worship there is reverence the Tamboli carefully preserves the conservatory (*bhit*) in which he grows the betel creeper from ceremonial impurity In another case, the suitability of the tools is not obvious one subcaste of Kandus, who nowadays are generally shopkeepers worship the chisel hammer and T square because at one

[1] Sahjadi would be a common Hindi corruption of the Persian *shah zadi* a princess Shahza may also be referable t the same word.

time they were stonecutters I myself have on one occasion come across this custom The event occurred in Mirzapur in 1910, when having summoned a meeting of Kayastha *patwaris*, I arrived to find only one or two present On enquiry, I was told that they were absent because it was the day on which they worshipped their pens and inkstands [1]

24 *The worship of the cow*

The cow was not an object of veneration in the Vedic period, there is ample evidence in various Brahmanas[2] to show that the bull and cow were sacrificed, and also used for food By the time of Manu, however, such a feeling had come into existence, and was already very strong, for he classes cow-killing among the deadly sins Its origin, therefore, must have occurred between the Vedic period and the period when Manu's institutes were compiled, but the manner in which it originated has long been a controversial question The cow had already been idealized in Vedic mythology as Kamadhenu, the fabulous cow belonging to Indra, which was produced at the churning of the ocean [3] At a later date, cattle were closely connected with Krishna, as his epithets Gopala (cowherd) and Govinda (cow-finder) show, and no doubt the growth of Krishna-worship helped to popu-

[1] Sir H Risley (op cit, pp 235-236), has described the worship of orderlies of the Simla secretariat, an altar is set up, consisting of an office box, on which are arranged ink-pots, pen-holders, stationery, pencils, and 'all the clerkly paraphernalia by means of which the Government of India justifies its existence' The whole is 'draped with abundant festoons of red tape'—a piece of cynicism that is, I trust, unconscious I have enquired whether a similar practice prevails in the provincial secretariat I learn that on the *janamashtami*, or festival of Krishna's birth, a similar altar is actually set up, but it is merely for decorative effect, and is not worshipped All secretariat officials are invited to subscribe to this ceremony Muhammadan orderlies about the same time collect subscriptions for a *Maulud Sharif*—an account of the birth of the Prophet recited in Arabic and translated into Urdu

[2] Brahmanas are prose writings, in the nature of commentaries, attached to the various Vedas For details of the comments in these works, see R C Dutt, *History of Indian Civilization*, Vol I, p 253 *et seq*

[3] There is a somewhat similar legend in Scandinavian mythology Ymir, the first living being, was nourished by the milk of the cow Audhumla, which was created by the god Surtur for the purpose Kamadhenu means the 'desire-cow', i e the cow that grants desires

larize cow worship Again the *pancha gavya* or five products of the cow [1] are both useful for scaring demons and necessary as adjuncts to ritual whilst an agricultural people would naturally respect an animal of so much utility Her mythological importance her close connexion with one of the most popular of Hindu deities, her ritualistic and practical usefulness, are surely sufficient to account for the great respect in which she is generally held and even for her worship Nor of course is cow worship peculiar to India alone [2] At the present day the cow is an object of veneration to all Hindus save a very few castes Of these exceptions, the Chamar is the most important As his traditional function is tanning and one of his duties is the skinning of dead animals, especially cattle, he naturally has no objection to eating beef and no reason for venerating the cow indeed he has often been known to poison cattle for the sake of their hides, though Chamar *panchayats* often take strong measures to discourage the practice [3] The Dom in the plains the Korwa and occasionally the Bhangi eat beef but the first and third of these are the lowest of the low and the second is the least civilized of all the jungle tribes of the province The extent of veneration differs the minimum amounts to a refusal to kill the animal or eat its flesh the maximum to actual worship which is, however uncommon indeed I can only find two castes, the Dangi and the Golapurab that regard the cow as a deity though there is a festival called Gopashtami or Gokulashtami, when cattle are decorated and fed with special food a practice which closely resembles a sacrificial offering At the other end of the scale it is probable that most Hindus of education pay the cow no special reverence and like

[1] Milk curds, butter urine and dung Another of her products, used for making sectarian marks, is *gaurochana* a yellow pigment, of which the preparation is variously explained. I 9 1 vendor of *gaurochana*' was one of the occupations returned t the census (*Report U.P.*, 1911 p. 385). It also has certain medicinal properties.

[2] Apis, the sacred bull of the Egyptians, is one instance while Aaron's golden calf is another (Herodotus, II 38, 153; III 27-29 Exodus, xxxii.)

[3] See Chapter VI par 13 (vi) (c).

the members of the Arya Samaj, would justify the prohibition against her slaughter solely on the score of her economic usefulness But the vast majority regard her as being, if not divine, at all events sacred The *Amawas* of every month is set apart as the cattle's day of rest The Brahmani bull, let loose after a death, like the scapegoat of the Jews, with the weight of the dead man's sins upon him, is allowed to wander where he will, and feed where he will Many pious Hindus keep a cow in the house, and place her where the master of the house will see her when he wakes The killing of a cow, even if accidental, involves the severest caste penalties

25 The worship of Parameshwar

Every Hindu, however primitive his other beliefs may be, has the conception of a supreme personal god, who is called Parameshwar [1] According to the Puranic metaphysic, Parameshwar is the universal spirit when manifested as a person, who, according as he is actuated by apathy, activity, or goodness, becomes one of the three divine individualities, Brahma, Siva, or Vishnu Clearly, the professed Saiva or Vaishnava has no real place for this deity in his cosmogony, and would probably explain his presence there by saying that he *was* Siva or Vishnu But the philosophical explanation of him means little or nothing to the ordinary Hindu He simply regards Parameshwar as a god above all other gods, the ultimate creator of the universe, who takes pleasure in good and abhors evil, but as being also much too exalted to take any active interest in the affairs of his followers Siva, Vishnu, and all the rest of the heavenly host may be subordinate to him, but they are of much more practical importance, because they can and will render assistance to their petitioners As an Indian friend recently put it to me, the difference between Parameshwar and other gods is the difference between the King Emperor and the district officers But however indeterminate the Hindu's idea of Parameshwar may be, it makes of him at bottom a monotheist, or at the least a henotheist

[1] Also Ishwar, Bhagwan, or Narayan

Worship is perhaps, too strong a term to apply to the relation of most Hindus to this deity The Bhuiya the Chamar the Gandhila, the Gorchha and the Nat make offerings to him and some Hindu Banjaras are taught by their Brahman *gurus* to pray only to him But the worship of most Hindus is restricted to an occasional recitation of the *Sat Narayan Katha*[1] in his honour or the repetition of his name in the morning and evening They reserve their prayers and offerings for deities more accessible than Parameshwar

16. The Brahman relation to religion

The three twice born (*dvija*) divisions of the old Arya nations Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas though unequal to each other in social rank yet shared certain sacramental rites (*sanskāra*) connected with all the principal occasions of a man s life, from his birth to his death Of these the most important was the *upanayana* ceremony when the youth was initiated into the study of the Vedas and invested with the sacred thread (*janeo*) for it was this ceremony that constituted his second birth and made him *dvija* The Sudra had no part in these ceremonies just as he was kept out of all social intercourse with the Aryan twice born so was he kept out of the Aryan religion s doctrines and practices And these were the rites which it was the Brahman s especial duty to perform But the circumstances of the Aryans environment put an end to this exclusiveness The twice born were forced into intermarriage with the Dravidian Sudras and an Aryo-Dravidian race arose In later centuries there was further mixture of blood as the result of fresh invasions and the mixed castes—*vrisala vratya* and *varnasankara*—took the place of the old *varnas* In theory none of these were or could rightfully demand to be regarded as twice born But many castes still hold the title Most are those who trace direct descent

[1] An ccount of the manifestation f God to certain of his worshippers.

[2] The universality of the belief I Parameshwar has been officially recognized by the use of his name in the oath administered to Hindus I the law courts so help me God becomes so help me Parameshwar

[3] A f ll list is given in the appendix to this chapter

on one side from Aryan Kshatriya or Vaisya, who on that account perform the *upanayana* rite, and wear the sacred thread Others are those who, having in one way or another acquired or usurped the rank and name of a twice born class, have also usurped its distinguishing ceremonies Even at the present day, a caste will occasionally, on the strength of some claim to Kshatriya or Vaisya descent, take to wearing the sacred thread Nor is that all As Sudras, especially those classed as clean, came more and more under the influence of Brahmanism, they too began to perform other rites than the *upanayana* And the Brahmans who, as we have seen, had already compromised with Sudra gods, now were compelled to compromise with the worshippers of those gods They, too, had suffered to no small extent by constant contact with lower races They had seen the priests of low religions—Ojhas, Joshis,[1] and such like—appropriate their rank and title, and be recognized as Brahmans If the legends are true, they had seen kings 'create' Brahmans out of Kurmis and Ahirs and Bhars and Lodhas Some of their number had lost rank either by offences against social laws, or by yielding to the demands of powerful non-Aryan clients And so they acquiesced in the claims of the new 'twice born', whilst their lower grades sank so low as to serve the Sudra parvenus And that is still the state of affairs at the present day

An examination of relevant facts and figures has yielded the following results for the province —

(1) Out of a total Hindu population (excluding the Brahmans themselves), of 35½ millions, some 19¼ millions are served as priests by Brahmans of high standing In this total are included (*a*) the castes that claim Brahmanical descent—Bhuinhar, Taga, Ahiwasi, Bohra, and others, (*b*) all Rajputs and castes claiming a Kshatriya lineage, such as the Khattri and the Kayastha, (*c*) all the castes now generically known as Vaisya, (*d*) all the good agricultural castes, (*e*) a few occupational castes connected with trade in food, or personal service,

[1] Astrologers, not the Joshis of the hills

such as the Halwai and Kahar, who must necessarily preserve their ceremonial purity unsullied or which claim twice born affinities such as the Sonar and Belwar The lowest caste of any importance included in the list is the Kalwar but he has recently been rising in the social scale and now claims to be a Vaisya

(2) Some 6¾ millions are served either by Brahmans of definitely low standing or by Brahmans belonging to higher grades who are however despised for the service that they render to such castes Of these 4¾ millions are occupational or servant castes of which the most important are the Barhai Lohar Bharbhunja Kori Gadariya and Kewat The rest are tribal castes of Dravidian extraction the Bhar the Arakh the Pasi, and the Dusadh are the most important of these

(3) The next group of 8¾ millions includes 25 castes that have induced Brahmans necessarily of low standing to render them some sort of trivial service The most important of these are the Chamars,[1] Kumhars Dhobis Luniyas, Bhangis, Mallahs Khatiks and Dhanuks The forms of assistance which the Brahman usually renders to his humble clients is to fix auspicious dates for their important ceremonies, such as marriage to receive gifts on suitable occasions, sometimes, to carry out the worship of one of the more important gods or to honour weddings by his presence though taking no part in them himself The most pathetic case is that of the Chamar His occupation the food that he eats, and some of his habits render him abominable to every orthodox Hindu yet the society that despises him could not do without him He is extremely punctilious in carrying out his complicated rites, many of which are at least a colourable imitation of orthodox ceremonial He is extremely religious and though he worships numerous deities[2] yet he has a much better conception of a supreme personal god than many other castes of his own, or even of better

[1] Rich Chamars can sometimes get Brahmans of a degraded kind t serve their rites.

[2] And his wif occupation she is the village midwife.

standing In some parts, for instance, he regularly worships Parameshwar, and, in other parts, he uses words at the funeral ceremony which show that he recognizes the existence of an all-powerful creator [1] Further, it was the Chamar Rai Das, one of Ramananda's pupils, who founded the deistic sect of the Srinarayani or Sivanarayani, into which many Chamars are initiated, whilst others belong to the Kabirpanthi and Ramanandi sects [2] In fact, he is as strict a Hindu as his betters will allow him to be

(4) The last is a small group of half a million persons and thirty castes, all of them of non-Aryan extraction. They fall into seven groups —

(*a*) Six tribal castes, all akin to the Central Indian Gonds, they are the Agariya, Badi Nat, Majhwar, Pankha, Parahiya, and Patari So far they have evinced little or no desire to have any dealings with Brahmans, they have, indeed, priests of their own, called *baigas,* who are mostly Pataris

(*b*) Five tribal castes, akin to the Mundari tribes of Chhota Nagpur, namely, the Dhangar, Khairwa, Kol, Korwa, and Sahariya They are in much the same case as the tribes of the previous group, though a few of the more advanced Kols are beginning to call in Brahmans of an inferior kind to eat sacrificial food in their houses, paying them to do so [3]

(*c*) A third group consists of four tribes belonging to the Dom race—the Dom of the plains, the Dharkar, Basor, and Balahar These are all the lowest of the low,

[1] '*Tuhi hai, tain ne paida kiya aur tain ne mar liya*' 'Thou art He, Thou hast made alive, and Thou hast struck dead'

[2] All these are Vaishnava sects The legend of Rai Das is a good example of transmigration beliefs One of the sect's holy books, the *Santa Virasa,* opens with the words 'the love of God and knowledge of him are the only true understanding', which shows the nature of the sect's doctrine For a full account, see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N-W P and Oudh,* Vol II, pp 185-189

[3] In the famine years of 1907-1908 a Brahman constable, who was a noted *shikari,* took complete charge of the Kols in his circle, who provided most of his beaters, I do not doubt that he, at all events, rendered them many a little Brahmanical service, out of friendship for those whom he openly called 'his children'

and no Brahman would ordinarily serve them though they have sometimes attempted to induce him to do so

(*d*) The fourth group consists of various gipsy tribes the Sansiya, the Bajaniya Nat, the Bawariya, Bajgi, Bengali and Habura The last named occasionally give Brahmans some uncooked grain at their funeral ceremonies but that seems to constitute their sole dealings with them

(*e*) The fifth group consists of three related tribes, the Bhuiyas, Bhuiyars, and the greater part of the Musahars A very few of the last named who have settled down to village life consult Brahmans as astrologers But the group generally will have none of their ministrations, preferring their own *baigas* whilst the Bhuiyar caste, which like the Patari provides many of these aboriginal priests, affects to despise them and even relates a ribald legend of them

(*f*) The next group consists of the Beldar and Kharot castes which belong to the same family as the Luniyas Orhs and Binds The last two castes have risen in the social scale sufficiently to receive the services of Brahmans of low degree and no doubt their relatives will do so too in time

(*g*) The last group consists of three hill or submontane tribes—the hill Dom the Raji and the Tharu The last named has occasionally made attempts to secure the ministrations of Brahmans but so far with very little success

27 *Summary*

The previous discussion may now be summarized as follows As the result of various causes, Hinduism is a bewildering collection of diverse beliefs doctrines and practices These can however be divided into two main classes Firstly there are those that relate mainly to the great Hindu gods in their various aspects of whom the chief are Siva Vishnu and their consorts and secondly there are those which spring from various non Aryan sources and relate to minor deities of all kinds—secondary gods, godlings, ancestors, canonized saints and heroes, animals and even natural objects The first class

are always, the latter class seldom, if ever, recognized by the Brahman priesthood The only or principal worship of a vast majority, some 87½ per cent of all Hindus, is directed to one of the Brahmanical great gods in the first class, and consequently may be described as orthodox worship, but a large proportion of the orthodox also worship deities in the second class, whilst the unorthodox minority worship only such deities Each caste selects its own deities, outside the great gods, the Muhammadan group of saints known as the Panchpir probably commands the largest number of adherents But though Hinduism may be, as Sir Alfred Lyall called it, 'a tangled jungle of disorderly superstitions', yet there are certain ring-fences round that jungle—certain forms of worship in which all, or nearly all, Hindus share, certain gods to whom they all pay reverence The first of these bonds of union is ancestor-worship, practically every Hindu, whether orthodox or unorthodox, follows this practice, and though both the nature of the worship and the conceptions underlying it may vary, yet the differences are not so great that they cannot be reconciled Every Hindu, again, has some conception, more or less definite, of a supreme personal god, whom he generally calls Parameshwar With the exception of a very few outcaste tribes on the very fringe of society, every Hindu pays at least so much reverence to the cow that he will not kill it, or eat its flesh, and with similar exceptions, every Hindu accepts such ministrations from the Brahman priests as they are willing to give him, and admits their spiritual supremacy

28 Religion and ethics

A Hindu's code of ethics is as high as that of any other civilized nation As Sir Richard Burn says, 'He knows that it is wrong to commit murder, adultery, theft, and perjury, and to covet, and he honours his parents, in the case of the father at any rate, to a degree exceeding the customs of most nations, which have no ceremony resembling that of the *sraddha*' At the same time, the Hindu religion neither is, nor contains, an ethical code A Hindu, if asked why a specific action

is right or wrong would never give as a reason that the gods had so ordained If he were asked what he had to hope from virtue and to fear from sin he would never mention divine reward or divine punishment in reply And yet his eschatology includes sufficiently clear conceptions both of heaven and hell Hell is the kingdom of Yama god of death whose duty it is to judge and punish the wicked but his power is limited If the dying man s eyes in his last moments are fixed upon a sacred stream especially the Ganges then he will escape from Yama even if he be the worst of sinners And if no sacred stream is available then the correct ritual by the death bed and at the funeral can keep Yama s messengers away The Chaitanya sect of Vaishnavas go even further for they hold that the mere mention of any of Vishnu s names by the death bed even if the mention be accidental or inimical or actually blasphemous, will save a sinner from hell and secure his admission to heaven On the metaphysical plane, salvation to a Hindu is absorption of the individual self into the universal self (*paramatman*) which amounting as it does to mere emancipation from the troubles of existence coupled with the loss of personal consciousness, is no better than annihilation But as soon as man begins to believe in a personal god he will cease to believe in abstract salvation For the merging of one individual self in another individual self is un thinkable and though man may live after death *with* God he cannot live *in* God And so we find that Saivism and Vaishnavism each has its own heaven called Kailasa and Vaikuntha respectively the former situated in the Himalayas the latter on the mythical Mount Meru To these heavens are transported the souls of the faithful and of those who by death bed ceremonial have escaped from Yama there to dwell in such state of beatitude[1] as each has deserved But not for ever The Hindu

[1] Of these states there are three; *sal kya*, or dwelling in the same place as god; *samipya* or dwelling in the presence of god and *sarupya* or acquiring the form of god. The last is generally held t be the highest state of beatitude; but some, under the influence of pantheism, add *sayujya* or absorption in the universal spirit.

believes firmly in the transmigration of souls (*sansara*),[1] and regards heaven and hell as temporary abodes, where the soul remains in the interval between its emancipation from one mortal body and its assumption of another. Linked to the metaphysical doctrine of *sansara* is the ethical doctrine of *karma*, or automatic retribution, already mentioned as a doctrine of Buddhism, according to which a man's thoughts and actions in one existence determine the status and condition of his next existence. If the good outweighs the evil, he will rise to a higher grade of life; the virtuous Chamar may be reborn a Vaisya or a Rajput. If the evil outweighs the good, he will fall to a lower level, and the Brahman may be reborn a Chamar, as in the legend of Rai Das, founder of the Srinarayani sect of Vaishnavas. And because it is automatic, *karma* is also inexorable, affording neither room for repentance nor hope of forgiveness. But it is not a religious doctrine; indeed, *karma* lies entirely outside the sphere of divine influence, so that no god, however potent, can modify or impede its action.

29. Karma and ethics.

The ethical value of the doctrine of *karma* has often been doubted. It is argued that since consciousness comes to an end with death, no man can remember the events of his previous existences, and therefore can form no estimate of their effect on his present existence. It is indeed possible to go further, for any given condition of life may be either a reward for virtue displayed in a lower condition, or a punishment for sins committed in a higher condition. Consequently, as Sir Herbert Risley puts it, 'the philosophic sinner . . . may . . . console himself with the thought that, though undoubtedly a reckoning awaits him, he will have become somebody else by the time the bill is presented.' And no man—at all events, no philosophic sinner—will mind running up a

[1] The origin of this doctrine is uncertain. There are only unimportant traces of it in the Vedas. Some regard it as the natural complement of the doctrine of the universal self (Eggeling, *Ency. Brit.*, 11th edition, s.v. *Hinduism*), some as an importation from animism, where the idea of transmigration would certainly be at home. (Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 115, and Risley, op. cit., p. 238.)

bill if somebody else will pay it [1] To such arguments, a Hindu would probably reply that the continuance of consciousness *was* possible, and had actually occurred in the case of great ascetics Rai Das the Chamar for instance, was according to the legend fully aware of his former Brahmanhood, and of the causes that had led to his rebirth as a Chamar Such a reply is of little assistance however for even if the fact be true few can claim to be great ascetics But these arguments, though they may be valid in theory are of no practical import ance Every Hindu firmly believes that sin will certainly entail retribution in a subsequent existence Every Hindu born in a degraded condition will admit that the degradation is the result of evil-doing in a previous exist ence In short *karma* though it may lack in logic, is a very real and important element in the Hindu s code of ethics

30. Bhakti and ethics

Though neither the Hindu religion as a whole nor any branch of it can be regarded as a code of ethics yet Vaishnavism incul cates one tenet which has a very real ethical value This is *bhakti marga* the doctrine of personal devotion to the deity Primarily, perhaps, *bhakti* in the Vaishnava s creed is man s duty to God practically however it regulates the Vaishnava s conception of his duty to his neighbour For he holds that he can best show his devotion to his god by helping his fellow man It is *bhakti* which explains those numer ous shrines and temples and *dharmsalas* those wells and tanks and bathing *ghats* which are to be found dotted about the countryside—gifts made by pious Hindus to the glory of God and the service of man It is because of the importance which Vaishnavism attaches to *bhakti* that Professor Monier Williams has declared it to be the

[1] These arguments apply with far greater force to the Buddhist than t the Brahmanical doctrine of *k rma*. For Buddhism denies the exist ence of soul and the connecting link between lif and lif is some craving or desire, f it i the former life which persists into the second lif when if good, it is satisfied, and, if evil it is frustrated. But clearly if there i no soul, there can be neither consciousness nor memory in the second life of the first.

only real *religion* of the Hindus—since religion implies devotion

Writers of the older school hold that the Hindu religion and the Hindu caste system are inseparably connected Professor Eggeling,[1] for instance, has asserted that 'the cardinal principle which underlies the system of caste is the preservation of purity of descent, and purity of religious belief and ceremonial usage' This view is related to that old theory of the origin of caste, now generally discarded, which represents it as the artificial product of the Brahman priesthood All that need be said here is that if the caste system was devised with the object of preserving 'the purity of belief and ceremonial usage', it has been a singular failure For the old Vedic beliefs have been modified by metaphysical speculation, and overlaid by a mass of alien practices, and the Vedic ritual, which could be lawfully performed only by an Aryan priesthood for an Aryan people, is now in daily use amongst a people of mixed descent

31 Caste and religion

Nevertheless, caste and religion have each a certain effect upon the other Religion, in Sir Herbert Risley's words, 'exercises a subtle influence on family ritual and domestic usages, and through these tends insensibly to modify and transform the internal structure of Indian society'[2] Religion, for instance, has caused the formation of four important sectarian castes It is also responsible for the formation of new endogamous groups within a caste Amongst the Rastogis, worshippers of Hardaur Lala will not intermarry with worshippers of Mahabir or the Panchpir The Muraos have two endogamous sections, named respectively Saktiha and Bhaktiha[3]—Sakti and Vishnu worshippers Similar sections exist among the Binds (Panchpiriya), Chamars (Raidasi), Nais (Senapanthi), and Chhipis (Sadh and Namdeobansi), but there are no doubt many more

[1] *Ency Brit*, 11th edition, s v *Hinduism*
[2] Op cit, p 216
[3] The word means 'devotee'

On the other hand, caste exercises an influence, even more subtle, though no less real on religion through the medium of the Brahman himself The Brahman is socially supreme He owes his hegemony to a variety of potent causes—his ancient lineage, his wide and varied learning the temporal ascendancy which in the past he acquired as the all powerful minister of puppet kings Most of all perhaps, he owes it to his work as legislator for to a people who regarded custom as law he was wise enough to declare that law was custom [1] And so Hindus, though they may fear and even hate him (as much proverbial philosophy proves) nevertheless respect him greatly and because they respect him as supreme in society are all the more willing to admit his supremacy in religion—a supremacy based on the fact that in a highly religious community he is the sole repository of theological thought and ceremonial usage That readiness finds its most obvious expression at the present day in the pathetic eagerness of castes on the outer fringe of Hinduism to receive the Brahman s ministrations, which will allow them to pass within the pale of orthodoxy

3 Caste and ethics

The Hindu religion as we have seen has no ethical importance it concerns itself solely with a man s duty towards God but not with his duty towards his neighbour And *karma* is a philosophical not a religious, doctrine But the caste system provides an effective substitute indeed no dread of divine punishment could provide a moral sanction more powerful than dread of caste penalties The efficiency of that sanction is proved by the account of the system of caste government given in an earlier chapter the reality of that dread can best be proved by a common saying '*Panch Parameshwar* —The caste council is God—says the Hindu

See Chapter XV *passim*.

See Risley op. cit. pp. 305 307 for numerous examples.

CASTE IN RELATION TO RELIGION

Principal authorities—Eggeling, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, articles on Brahman, Brahmanism, Hinduism

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Census Reports, U P, 1901 and 1911, *India*, 1911

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV

The sixteen Sanskaras of the Hindus

(1)	Garbhadhan	Consummation of marriage
(2)	Punsavan Simantonnayan	Gestation
(3)	*Jat karma*	Delivery
(4)	Nam karan	Naming
(5)	Nishkramana	Taking out (of the house)
(6)	*Anna prashan*	Feeding with solid food
(7)	Chura karma	Tonsure
(8)	Karna bedha	Ear piercing
(9)	*Upanayana*	Initiation
(10)	Vedarambha	Study (of the Vedas)
(11)	Samavartana	Completion of study
(12)	*Vivah*	Marriage
(13)	Grihashrama	House and family life
(14)	Banprasthashrama	Life as a teacher
(15)	Sanyasashrama	Asceticism
(16)	*Antesht karma*	The last rite— Cremation, etc.

[Those in italics are the most important.]

A rite invoking the divine blessing on the act of consummation.

Precautionary rites to secure the wife s health.

Also called *vahirnisarana* usually combined with the next rite.

Usually performed in the sixth month; the food is as a rule rice.

Commonly called *mundan* and *kanchedan*. The former takes place in the third, the latter in the fifth year

This is the principal rite for the twice born It, in fact, constitutes the second birth' Investiture with the *janeo* is part of this ceremony It takes place between the eighth and eleventh year

Literally commencement of Vedas

The three stages of a man s adult life. Banprasthashrama means literally Life in the forest because the teacher lives as a hermit.

Other Brahmanical rites, which are not *sanskaras* are —

(1) *Barhai* (or *nakh katiya*)—a rite on the twelfth day after birth when the babe is shown to his male relations, and the women relatives cut their nails and make presents.

( ) *Mul santi*—a rite performed if the child is born in the asterism of Mule to obviate its ill luck.

(3) *Pathana* or *vidyarambha*—the formal commencement of education, which takes place before the *upanayana*. It marks the end of childhood.

CHAPTER XV

CASTE IN RELATION TO LAW

1 Hindu law and usage

Mr J D Mayne[1] entitles his famous work '*A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*', and his earlier chapters are devoted to showing that the two things, law and usage, are by no means co-extensive As a general proposition it can be said that Hindu law is ultimately always usage, crystallized, codified, and adapted by Brahmanical interpreters, but Hindu usage—meaning thereby the actual body of customs observed by Hindus—is not always law, still less Brahmanical law And for our present purposes this is a distinction which it is necessary to develop, for it will be found that caste is a factor of legal importance only when its custom happens to be contrary to the general principles of Brahmanical law

2 The customary basis of Hindu law

Hindu law, or to be more accurate, Brahmanical law, is recorded in the Sanskrit works of certain early sages and the commentaries upon those works This law was never a legislative code, drawn up by lawgivers and deriving its authority from its promulgation by them The Institutes of Manu, for instance, are not in the same category as the Indian Penal Code or the Code Napoléon They are a description of what the author believes to be, sometimes of what he merely wishes to be, the law And what Manu believed to be, and stated as, law, was, as a matter of fact, existing custom This fact he fully realizes himself 'Immemorial custom,' says he in a famous verse, 'is transcendent law'[2] All that he and other Brahmanical writers did was to codify custom

[1] This section is based entirely on his work The third edition was dated 1878 the eighth, which I used, was dated 1914

[2] *Institutes*, I 108

But the observation of this customary law was not universal in India either before or after its codification Neglecting other parts of the country we may quote Sir Henry Maine s *Village Communities* with regard to the law in North-West India The conclusion arrived at is first, that the codified law—Manu and his glossators—embraced originally a much smaller body of usage than has been imagined and next that he customary rules reduced to writing have been very greatly altered by Brahmanical expositors Indian law may be in fact affirmed to consist of a very great number of local bodies of usage, and of one set of customs reduced to writing pretending to a diviner authority than the rest exercising consequently a great influence over them, and tending if not checked to absorb them Hindu law consists, therefore, of written (Brahmanical) law and unwritten but legally valid custom The former corresponds fairly enough in its general features with the broad facts of Hindu life the latter introduces many local and sectional differences in detail But even where the written Brahmanical law is accepted in its entirety so far as its letter is concerned, it is not always accepted also in its spirit And this is especially true of the religious element in the written law Most Hindus follow for instance the Brahmanical law of succession and adoption but not all of them base their acceptance of those laws on the religious principles which according to the written law underlie them

It is not necessary to discuss Mr Mayne s reasons for holding that the written law is not of Brahmanical origin but is based upon immemorial customs which existed prior to and independent of Brahmanism and even of Aryanism The discussion of the early history of caste in the preceding chapters will incline us to accept his conclusion What the Brahmans did was to give existing customs, whether Aryan or Aryo-Dravidian a religious significance, and to modify them if necessary with that purpose In early days their position as ministers and judges enabled them to interpret custom according to Brahmanical ideas in later times the decisions

of our courts, based on the opinions of their pandits, carried on the tradition. At the present day the villager, when doubtful of the rule of conduct applicable in any given circumstances, consults his priest. At all times and everywhere Brahmans have been in a position to colour native uses with their own religious ideas, and to supplement, supplant, or explain them by their own doctrines. The result is that even utterly non-Aryan and non-Brahmanical customs have been influenced and modified by Brahmanism.

3. Custom versus law—
(a) In the ancient authorities

In such circumstances as these, it is obvious that a custom which is proved to be binding on those who observe it, should logically be able to override the written law. And the Brahmanical writers are wise enough to admit it. As we have already seen, Manu is responsible for the dictum that immemorial custom is transcendent law; he further asserts that the sages 'embraced as the root of all piety, good usages long established'.[1] Nor was he content with vague generalities; for he also lays down that a king must enquire into and establish the particular customs and laws of different classes, localities, trades, and families.[2] We have already seen that the trade-guilds had laws of their own which the king recognized. Yajnavalkya in the same way states that a conqueror should preserve the usages and laws of a newly-conquered people.[3] The *Mitakshara* also, lays down the antithetic proposition to Manu's principle about custom and law; for, says the author of that work, even practices which are inculcated by divine authority may be abandoned if they are or become opposed to public opinion.[4] And the position may be summed up thus. The law is itself codified custom. If a custom sanctioned by that law becomes obsolete, it may be abandoned despite that sanction; and if a custom not

[1] *Institutes*, I. 110.
[2] Ibid., VIII. 41.
[3] Yajnavalkya, I. 342.
[4] *Mitakshara*, I. 3, 4.

expressly sanctioned by that law is found to be in force it is valid even if it overrides the law

4 (b) In our modern courts

The British courts of justice so far as was possible to them have given effect to these principles Under the Hindu system clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law, said the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Ramnad case [1] And in theory and within certain limitations, every High Court would be prepared to give effect to a custom which was proved to exist For instance it has been held in several cases that the Jains, though in most matters they adhere to the Hindu law yet do not believe in the Vedas, or practise the *sraddha* and consequently are not bound by the legal principles which spring from these religious elements Their customs therefore may be and are completely different from those of ordinary Hindus, in some respects especially in the matter of adoption Again it has been held that the Bohras, despite their Brahmanhood may adopt a sister s son which is totally opposed to Hindu law

5 Limitations on the upholding of custom

In theory therefore the legal principle is quite clear caste custom overrides the written law In practice however, it would not be easy for a suitor to establish the validity of any particular custom The High Courts have defined strictly both the kind of usage they would admit and the kind of evidence necessary to prove it The custom must be uniform [4] of ancient origin continuous definite [7] it must not be opposed to morality or public policy [8] It must be fully

Collector of Madura *Moottoo Ramali ga* I M I.A. 436.
6, N W P 382 All. 688 3 All 655; 3, Bom. 257 (The references are to the various series of High Court rulings—both here and in subsequent notes.)
4, All. 53
7 Mad. 250.
3, Mad., 75 0, Bom. 34
7 Mad. 50 Cal. 86.
All. 440 2, All. 48.
Many rulings, following *Institut* VIII 4

supported by evidence of cases where it has actually been followed, or where it has been accepted or upheld by the decisions of courts or *panchayats* or by the statements of experienced and competent persons, though such statements will have little weight in the absence of proof of actual examples of the usage in issue.[1] Even in the most favourable circumstances it would be a difficult (and expensive), task to prove the validity of an overriding custom

And the circumstances would rarely be favourable

6 Difficulties in the way of establishing caste custom

The divergences of custom from Hindu law are greatest and most important in the lowest castes and the lowest castes are also the least educated There is no documentary record of caste customs the settlement *wajib-ul-arz*, which is prepared for every village and carries with it a presumption of its truth, rarely deals with the usages of particular castes though it may deal with usages special to the village Nor is there any written record of the decisions of *panchayats* In practice, the suitor must rely on the oral evidence of 'experienced and competent persons'—i e of the elders of his community The villager's memory is long yet, if the custom in issue, however well established, only took effect on rare occasions (and obviously this type of custom would generally form the subject of a lawsuit, since a custom of common occurrence would be too well known to admit of dispute at all), it might well happen that no example of it had come to light within memory And in that case the evidence of witnesses, however 'experienced and competent', regarding the validity of a custom would amount to a mere expression of opinion, and according to the Madras ruling carry little weight Nor is that all The witnesses produced in such a suit would generally be interested and consequently unreliable whilst any attempt to obtain independent witnesses would often be a failure, because villagers are, or pretend to be, ignorant of their own usages 'We consult the Pandits,' they will say and leave it at that. In

[1] 7, Mad , 250

any case such witnesses must generally be sought at a distance—which fact would at once raise a doubt whether the custom in issue were equally valid everywhere Proof of uniformity antiquity and continuity of a custom as required by the High Courts, is in such circumstances well nigh impossible And it is perhaps fortunate that the ordinary claimant would generally be content with the decision of his own caste *panchayat* and rarely trouble the courts at all Indeed if a suitor—at all events a suitor belonging to a caste which is ruled by a permanent *panchayat*—has recourse to the courts to establish a caste custom, it is scarcely too much to say that that very fact raises a presumption against the validity of his claim for it would suggest, either that he dare not bring it before the *panchayat* or that he has done so without success And either fact would be—or at all events should be—damning to his case

Need of a record of caste customs

It is much to be regretted that so little has been done in the way of collecting authentic records of local customs, says Mr Mayne in his *Hindu Law* As a matter of fact, a great deal has now been done in the United Provinces, for instance, Crooke s *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (though it needs some revision and a certain number of additions as the result of the lapse of time) is as authentic and full a record of the customs of most castes as could be desired That book, or a revised edition of it would be entirely suitable for acceptance as an authority by the courts But it is not so regarded and, as matters are, it is often necessary to go far afield to obtain the proof of custom that is needed

8 Differences between Hindu law and cast customs

And there are important divergences between the law and the customs of many low castes As an instance we may consider the forms of marriage prescribed by that law, and compare them with the forms actually found[1] The forms as prescribed by Manu and other lawgivers are eight in number —

[1] *Institutes* III. 20-42

(i) The Brahma—which is the 'voluntary gift of a daughter, clothed only in a single robe, to a man learned in the Vedas'—i.e. to a Brahman, though this form is now regarded as admissible for all castes, so long as its essential attribute is present—viz. the absence of any payment for the bride.[1]

(ii) The Asura—which is merely marriage by purchase of the bride.

(iii) The Arsha—which is a modification of the Asura: the price (according to Manu a pair, or two pairs, of kine), paid for the bride has dwindled down to a merely nominal sum.

(iv) The Gandharva—which is 'the reciprocal connexion of a youth and a damsel with mutual desire'; and in so far as it can be regarded as marriage at all, means pre-marital immorality followed by some more permanent union.

(v) The Rakshasa—which is merely marriage by capture.

(vi), (vii) and (viii) The Daiva, Prajapatya and Paisacha—which are now all obsolete and need not be described.

Of these, according to Mr Mayne, all but the first two are obsolete at the present day; whilst the second, it would seem, would only be legally recognized if a custom to that effect were fully proved. But an examination of caste customs makes it clear, firstly, that the third, fourth and fifth forms also survive; and, secondly, that there are some well-established and even common forms which cannot be brought under any of the eight forms without ignoring their principal characteristics, or extending to an inconvenient degree the meaning of certain texts.

9 *'Arsha' marriages*

The Arsha form differs from the Asura only in degree: in the latter the bridegroom 'gives as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsmen and to

[1] Madras Sudder Court, 1850, 44

the bride herself', whilst in the former the bride price is something nominal a pair, or two pairs, of kine, in the text of Manu There are no less than thirty seven castes who practise marriage by purchase [1] the price in every case consists of clothes ornaments and a sum of money In the case of twenty six of these the sum of money is under twenty rupees In these twenty six castes at all events the marriage is in the Arsha form whilst in the other eleven castes where the sum of money paid is considerably larger it would be in the Asura form

10. Gandharva and Rakshasa marriages

The question of the validity of a Gandharva marriage has actually been before the courts in one very old case of 1817 it was held valid for Kshatriyas, whilst in a more recent case it was refused legal recognition as contrary to morality Yet in all essentials—viz pre-marital immorality followed by a more permanent union—it still survives amongst a certain number of low castes [4] The Rakshasa form by that name, is dead some of its essentials according to Manu s definition— the seizure of a maiden by force from her husband while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded and their houses broken open —have also disappeared as a result of modern prejudice against murder But the gipsy tribes, who kidnap women from other communities, still preserve the main principle of this form merely substituting cunning for force

11 Marriage forms not falling under Hindu law

At the present day one of the most common of all forms of marriage amongst Hindus, even the highest is the dowry marriage where the bride s father pays a bridegroom price in the shape of a dowry with his daughter [6] That payment is neces-

Chapter IV par 5.
H Jmee Mull v R e Bhadoorun cited in Bengal Sudder Court, 1846, 340.
3 All 738.
Chapter IV par 18.
Chapter IV par 1
Chapter IV par 4

deserted wives, and wives who have abandoned their husbands for good and sufficient reasons, is sanctioned by the early lawgivers [1] Manu was the first authority on the other side though even he has texts which seem to support the earlier view whilst he expressly permits the marriage of a virgin widow to her late husband s brother [2] The marriage of widows and—under certain restrictions—of divorcées is common amongst abori ginal tribes and low castes all over India and has been recognized as legal by the High Courts again and again [3] By the Hindu Widow Marriage Act (XV of 1856) the marriage of widows has been legalized for all castes and the question of the judicial recognition of such a marriage could not now arise

But in respect of the married widow s rights on the family of her first husband the position is not so clear Under Hindu law, a widow is entitled to maintenance by the family of her first husband or, in certain circumstances to inheritance of his property So long as her remarriage was unlawful it naturally involved the for feiture of these rights, as being a bad case of incontinence Act XV of 1856 though legalizing the marriage of widows, expressly deprived them of all rights and inter ests in their deceased husband s property on their remarri age [4] And it is established beyond dispute that where ever a caste permits the marriage of a widow custom insists that she shall lose all rights or claims whatsoever on her deceased husband s family—unless indeed she marries her husband s brother when the question could not arise The second husband must repay to the family of the first husband the bride price if any paid by the first husband in fact he *buys* the widow from her owners The severance is so complete that the widow must leave her children by the first husband [5] with his family though in some castes so much of a concession

[1] Narada, XII 97 101 and elsewhere Baudhayana, II. 20 Vasishta, XVII 13 Katyayana, 3 Dig 36.

[2] *Institutes* V 6 163 VIII 226 IX 69, 70 76, 175-6. For discussion cf. Mayne *Hindu Law* Chapter IV

[3] See Chapter IV para. § 5 and 6, *supra*.

[4] Act XV of 1856, section 2

is made to humanity that she is allowed to keep a child that is actually at the breast [1] In some cases, in Bombay and Madras, the validity of this custom has been recognized [2] elsewhere a different, and (I say it with respect), an incorrect, view has prevailed It has been held, for instance, that Act XV of 1856 does not apply to castes, which at the time when the Act was passed, already permitted widows to marry and consequently that in such castes widows have full rights of maintenance or inheritance in the families of their first husbands That is to ignore the validity of a custom which is much more ancient than the Act itself, and which, so far as I am aware, is absolutely universal [3] And the practical consequences of this view are serious Except in so far as it may have facilitated occasional marriages of widows amongst would-be reformers of the caste system, it is safe to say that the Act has had no result whatever I doubt if throughout the length and breadth of India there is a single caste which has adopted widow marriage in consequence of its legalization The natural social impulse is in exactly the opposite direction for as a caste rises in the social scale, the first non-Hindu custom which it discards is widow marriage It can be confidently asserted that no caste permits widow marriage at the present time which did not permit it at the passing of the Act in 1856 though there are certainly some which permitted it then and do not permit it now It follows, therefore, that according to such rulings as I have mentioned there is no caste in existence to which section 2 of that Act, which deprives a widow on marriage of her rights on her first husband's family, now applies and the rulings have defeated both the intention of the Act and the custom

[1] Cf Chapter IV, par 7

[2] e g old cases in Borrodaile's Reports (1825)—1, 431, and 2, 361, and 1, Mad, 226

[3] It would be interesting to enquire why section 2 of Act XV was passed Might it not be that the drafters of this Act knew this custom and gave effect to it in this section?

13 *Immoral customs*

The principle that customs contrary to morality or public policy will never be enforced by the courts has, of course prevented the recognition of many widely-established usages for instance such as are connected with the prostitution of dancing girls, the abandonment of a husband by a wife followed by a subsequent remarriage, an agreement to assist a man with money to obtain a wife a village custom that recognized the *gandharva* form of marriage[1] have all been refused legal recognition And there are doubtless many more whilst there are certainly some more which would be refused such recognition were they to come before the courts At the same time as Mr Mayne hints it is possible to go too far in the observance of this principle For instance there is a distinct caste of dancing girls who live by immorality and have special rules of adoption and succession *inter se* there seems no reason why these facts should not be recognized and the rules made valid

14 *Usefulness of knowledge of caste custom*

Enough has been said to show that many difficulties confront the court that must adjudicate on a question of caste custom It cannot however be too strongly stated that a working knowledge of the caste system and caste customs is essential to any officer that has to deal with the people Reference has already been made to criminal charges of adultery or enticing away a married woman but instances could be multiplied In a case tried some years ago by the present writer the prosecution was based entirely on a conversation held *tete-à-tête* between an elder brother and his younger brother s wife There is the strictest of taboos on intercourse of any kind between this pair of relations and a question how in the circumstances, this

e.g. Bom. 24
1 Mad. 9.
3 All. 718.
Chapter IV par 20. It is not too much to say that there is always something doubtful about criminal charges under sections 497 and 498 I P C For if true, the *panchayat* will generally have done all that the complainant could possibly desire.

conversation took place at all produced a confession of perjury.[1] In another case, where a Brahman was accused of passing off a girl of low caste as a fit mate for another Brahman, the accused's guilt was proved to demonstration by his refusal to eat *kachcha* food cooked by the girl It is unnecessary to give further examples it must be obvious that the assertion made above is true, and that unless an officer knows the lines along which Indians think and the principles which guide their actions, he cannot—especially if he himself is a foreigner —understand either their thoughts or their actions

Principal authority —Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage* (8th edition)

[1] This taboo is universal It has been noticed in operation even in high caste and well-educated families

CHAPTER XVI

CASTE IN THE PAST PRESENT, AND FUTURE

1 Previous discussions

The past development of the caste system and various aspects of its present condition have now been described It still remains to consider the possibilities of its future But the future can only be profitably considered in the light of the past and it becomes necessary to begin by gathering up previous discussions into a connected account [1]

2 The Vedic period

When the Aryan invaders first entered India, they were already divided into three social classes similar to those existing amongst their kinsmen in Iran [2] Of these classes, two the ruling or military class, and the priestly class were already recognized as superior to the Vish or Aryan commonalty At first the names of these two classes had not been definitely fixed [3] but before long they became known respectively as Kshatriya and Brahman The priesthood at this time was definitely a profession to which were admitted recruits from other classes and at this time and for many years after, the priesthood was subordinate to the ruling class The Aryan invaders brought few women with them into India, and had to seek wives from the aboriginal inhabitants whom they called Dasyus These were a primitive race, in every way alien to the Aryan civilization, religion

1 The previous discussions concerned are principally those in Chapters II, VII, XIV and XV

2 These were the Rathaestao, Atharva and Vastrya.

3 R jan was possibly the most common name for the ruling class; there were many names for priest—*rishi kavi brahman, brahmaputra*, are only some. It is worth noting that the first of all priests, who brought fire from heaven and instituted sacrifice, was named Atharvan, which corresponds closely to the name of the Iranian priest.

and colour. The process of intermarriage was therefore distasteful, ceasing as soon as enough women had been bred to supply the needs of the community, but as their branches pushed further into the country, it recommenced, until there were many groups of various degrees of mixed blood, all strongly averse to further intermarriage Such intermarriage was certainly more frequent amongst the commonalty than the ruling class, and probably more frequent amongst the ruling than the priestly class, whose ceremonial purity would have been affected thereby. But it undoubtedly occurred even amongst them, as is proved by many legends[1] And so arose the four famous *varnas,* or 'colours'—a significant name—, the first three called Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, after the existing Aryan social classes, the fourth called Sudra, a term of uncertain meaning, possibly the name of some Dasyu tribe Concurrently with the mixture of blood, there had been a mixture of religions a number of cults, practices, and deities derived from the primitive animism of the Dasyus were imported into the Aryan nature worship The Brahman, charged with the duty of administering Aryan rites to an Aryan people, cannot have approved of either process of amalgamation, but, like the priests of other religions, he had to compromise with the worshippers whom he served And, indeed, his own position was weak, for by dint of metaphysic, he had transformed the old Vedic religion, with its personal gods, into a new pantheism with no deity but a hypostatized abstraction, called Brahmā—a cold and colourless being that had no appeal for a warm-hearted people, used to worshipping warm-hearted gods

3 Late pre-Buddhist developments

The progress of civilization introduced certain important changes in the Vedic social system It would seem, firstly, that the tendency to endogamy caused by the amalgamation of two races of different blood had sensibly weakened with the passage of time, at all events, we hear of numerous in-

[1] The legend of the Dusadh girl who married a Brahman is one of the best of these folk-tales it is given as an appendix to this chapter

stances of mixed marriages both at this and at a later period Secondly trade and industry became organized into a number of guilds or corporations of persons following the same occupation which quickly became influential and later were powerful enough to secure for themselves important privileges. They soon succeeded in establishing the principle of hereditary function, which predisposed them in favour of guild endogamy And lastly long before the end of this period, the Brahmanical order whose original function had been confined to the expert knowledge and performance of religious ritual had acquired a monopoly of all important branches of learning [1] They had become the theologians, the philosophers, the physicians, the lawyers and judges of the age—possibly also its artists and its engineers Not *only so but the king s family priest was able to make* his voice heard in the royal councils [2] and so the Brahmans became the age s statesmen capable of making and unmaking dynasties

4 The Buddhist period (550 B.C. to 650 A.D.)

These Brahman statesmen often exercised an authority greater and more real than that of their royal masters indeed there were times when it seemed probable that they would be able to overthrow the old aristocracy and replace it by a theocracy But though the Kshatriya might fear and even hate the Brahman he could not do without him and as the whole tone of the Jataka folk-lore[3] proves the relations between them became seriously embittered This political enmity between class and class was reinforced by a religious enmity The later *pantheistic doctrines never became*

Amongst the great Brahmans of this period are Gautama, Vasistha, Baudhayana Yama, Harita, and the older Manu. The *Institutes* of Manu that we now possess may be dated t about 900 A.D. but they are late recension of a much earlier work. Manu is *presented* as the proto-man, son of Brahma or his personification, father of the human race but he was, no doubt, a real teacher

See the legend of Visvamitra and Vasistha which is dated bout 700-600 B.C., in the appendix to Chapter II

These stories, written from the Kshatriya standpoint, never fail to exalt him above the Brahman, and even declare that the latter is lowborn (*hina jacco*) in comparison with the former

popular, and various religions arose, which drew away many of the Brahman's former adherents. In most cases, the priesthood were able to defeat opposition by importing the new cults into their own religious system, but one of these, Buddhism, proved an irreconcilable antagonist. Founded by a Kshatriya prince, it was adopted by the Kshatriya nobility, and so became a state religion, and though the Brahmans never entirely lost their influence with the common people, and, especially, retained control of the domestic rites (*sanskara*), yet a struggle for spiritual supremacy began between Buddhist monk and Brahman priest which lasted, with varying fortunes,[1] for ten centuries. Whether this struggle ever culminated in a religious war is uncertain, though the legend of Parasurama suggests it.[2] At all events, it ended after the death of King Harsha of Thanesar (650 A.D.) in the complete victory of Brahmanism. That victory, however, was due not so much to the Brahmans' own merits, as to the circumstances of the time. Whether the Kshatriyas ever had to face Parasurama or not, they were compelled to face enemies as dangerous from outside India. For this was the period of the foreign invasions, which began with the expedition of Alexander the Great, and ended with the inroad of the Huns in the fifth century A.D., and constant warfare gradually weakened, and finally destroyed, the military power of the Kshatriyas. From the ranks of their conquerors, there arose a new nobility, which in course of time was absorbed in the Hindu social system, and in virtue of their position as *de facto* rulers, usurped the style and rank of Kshatriyas. This was the Brahman's opportunity. Though many of these pseudo-Kshatriyas, or *vrisalas*, as Manu calls them, imitated their predecessors in embracing Buddhism, yet, even less

[1] Kadphises II (85-123 A.D.), the Kushan conqueror, embraced Saivism, and Chandragupta II Vikramaditya (375-412 A.D.), was a Vaishnava.

[2] Parasurama, 'Rama with the axe', is represented as a Brahmanical hero, who 'cleared the earth thrice seven times of the Kshatriya caste, and filled with their blood the five large lakes of Samanta.'

than their predecessors could they do without the Brahman s knowledge of public affairs and his temporal power thereby increased [1] And the disappearance of the old ruling class left him socially supreme, the one remaining link with the Aryan past, infinitely superior in the eyes of the people to their foreign rulers

5 The caste system b fore 650 A.D.

Of these newcomers, some were barbarians, as alien from the Hindu as the Dasyu had been from the Arya others, more civilized nevertheless possessed social customs that could not easily be reconciled with those of Hinduism The intrusion of these foreigners into a fastidious and exclusive society necessarily tightened anew the endogamous restrictions which had previously been somewhat relaxed and though these were not yet as rigid as they afterwards became yet Manu s statements show that endogamy was a general rule that admitted of few exceptions The prohibition against the marriage of widows was probably introduced at this period [2] Function was hereditary, and any attempt to exchange the traditional for another occupation had serious consequences Generally speaking, the caste system as described by Manu whose account may be put at 400 A D resembles in all important features the system of to-day But it is not the same

Great Brahmans of this period are Apastamba, Vishnu, Yajnavalkya, Narada, and the later Manu, among law-givers Chanakya and Vasudeva (who founded the Kanva dynasty), among statesmen.

It appears first in the later Manu. Infant marriage belonged to an earlier period (pre Buddhist); it is referred to by Gautama, Baudhayana, and Vasistha, as well as Manu. There is no authority for commensal restrictions but they are probably very old.

Manu mentions a long list of occupations the pursuit of which should render Brahmans unfit to take part in a *sraddha* ceremony—physicians, temple-priests, meat-sellers, shopkeepers, usurers, cowherds, actors, singers, oilmen, gaming-house keepers, spicers, bow makers, animal trainers, astrologers, bird-fanciers, dog-breeders, architects, falconers, cultivators, shepherds, and carriers of dead bodies. Even at the present day Some of these occupations are followed by Brahman or pseudo-Brahmanical groups e.g. Palliwal (shopkeepers), Bhat (bards), Joshi (astrologers) Ahiwasi, Bhuinhar and Taga (cultivators) and Mahabrahman (attendants on the dead).

6 *The final stage*

The final stage in the evolution of caste seems to have been reached between the death of Harsha of Thanesar in 650 A D and the end of the twelfth century This was one of the darkest periods of Indian history, when the country was broken up into many petty kingdoms and states, that were constantly at war with each other and with what was left of the aboriginal and foreign tribes. Distances were, as always, great, communications were bad, travelling was unsafe each state was compelled to be self-supporting, and so were evolved the numerous local subdivisions of widespread castes And because no man dared go far afield in search of a bride or of customers, these local groups became perforce endogamous, and the custom of hereditary function was strengthened. Nor did the advent of the Muhammadan power ameliorate the situation, till the strong rule of Akbar and his successors brought comparative peace to the people. But after Aurangzeb's death, disorder broke out again, and only came to an end, in this province, with Lord Lake's victories in 1803 Caste law, therefore, has been fixed for the last seven centuries at least There have been many internal changes since that time The process of segmentation has never stopped, and still goes on, as groups, for this reason or that, have risen or fallen in the social scale, they have separated from the parent caste and become endogamous But all these changes have taken place within the caste system, in obedience to caste law And though there have been minor modifications in that law under the influence of modern conditions, yet in all essential matters the caste system is still what it was seven centuries ago

7 *Educated opposition to caste*

For the past thirty years there has been manifest among the better-educated classes of the community a certain feeling of resentment against the trammels of the caste system, which has grown stronger with the progress of education, and has led on occasion to acts of open rebellion Many Hindus, especially if they have received a part of their education

in England condemn unreservedly the commensal and food restrictions They hold that they depend on antiquated ideas that have long since ceased to have any meaning that in so far as they keep apart persons of unequal social position they are unnecessary and in so far as they keep apart persons who are equal in all respects save caste they are ridiculous The number of those who are ready to take part in the practice known as inter-dining, not only with other Hindus, but with Muhammadans and Europeans, is constantly increasing but even those who strictly observe the commensal restrictions often disapprove of them Many too condemn extravagant expenditure on wedding ceremonies, or the prohibition on the second marriages of widows those who have crossed the seas rebel against the custom which compels them to undergo a purificatory ceremony (*prayaschitta*) on their return before they can recover caste privileges or even eat a meal with their family As has already been explained the educated members of many castes have deserted their traditional functions, because they prefer to put their learning to better account in some other trade or profession Finally few if any educated Hindus in this province would nowadays defend the practice of infant marriage and there are many caste and other associations which are pledged to do their best, by precept and example to put an end to it But as the figures of successive censuses show they have had so far but a small measure of success In 1891 the number of girls under 15 that were or had married was 239 per mille in 1921 it was 218

8 The Arya Samaj opposition to caste

Of all reformers that have attacked the caste system in recent years, the most vigorous is the Arya Samaj a religious body founded by Dayanand Saraswati [1] Of the theology of the Samaj no more need be said here than that it is a bold straightforward monotheism founded on the Vedas with a definite creed and a simple ceremonial and that it constitutes

[1] Born 1824 or 1827 died 1883. Samaj means assembly congregation.

the most important religious movement that has occurred in India for several centuries. But the Samaj has also done valuable social work. It acknowledges no castes save the four *varnas* of Manu, and holds that membership of these is determined, not by birth, but by personal qualifications and attainments. A Sudra can become a Kshatriya if he has the necessary qualities, a foreigner (as Dayanand once told a Christian missionary), can become a Brahman if his acts are those of a Brahman. This, of course, is the very negation of the caste system; indeed, it is scarcely a social classification at all. It may be that practice in this matter does not yet fully conform to principle, but the mere preaching of such a revolutionary doctrine is already much. Nor (though it is in the forefront of the Samaj's programme), does it appear to deter converts, for their numbers are increasing steadily, whereas Aryas only numbered 5 per 10,000 of the population in 1891, they numbered 45 in 1921. As the logical result of its general views on the caste system, the Samaj countenances marriages between members of different castes, though instances of such intermarriage are still rare. But in other directions, the Samaj has been more successful. It is entirely opposed to infant marriage, and whilst the number of married or widowed Hindu girls under 10 is 61 per 1,000, the similar number of Aryas is only 21, and of those a majority were probably married before conversion. It encourages the remarriage of widows, it insists on the curtailment of wedding expenses, it has whittled down the commensal and food restrictions to the minimum. Finally, in caste as in other matters, the Samaj preaches a return to the Vedas, and by so doing greatly enhances the cogency of its social propaganda, which is thus placed upon a religious basis.

9 *Modern conditions and caste*

Under the pressure of circumstances, some caste customs have been materially modified. In some castes, the exogamous restrictions, grown intolerable with time, have been relaxed. The levirate has disappeared almost entirely, the old bride-prices have been stereotyped, and, as a result of the decreased pur-

genèrous help and also guidance which they also gave to me in all matters of Administration without which it would not have been possible to show such an all-round progress. I am also thankful to the heads of the various Departments and the staff who have given me assistance by working very hard not only in office but out of office hours and on holidays and without regard to their convenience or their personal comforts.

Dated Kushalgarh, | Khan Sahib,

30th August, I943. | Manager, Kushalgarh Chiefship.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Statement showing changes of Principal Officers of the Chiefship during the years from 1936-37 to 1941-42.

Appointment	Name of Officer	Period From	Period To	Remarks.
	(1) MAHAKMA KHAS.			
1. Manager	1. Khan Sahib Syed Tajammul Husain	25-9-36	30-9-36	
	2. M. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, B.A.	1-10-36	25-9-37	
	3. Khan Sahib Syed Tajammul Husain	26-9-37	30-9-42.	
2. Sairshtedar & Head Clerk	1. Pt. Sunderlal Vyas	1-10-36	30-9-42.	
	(2) HIGH COURT.			
1. Judge, High Court.	1. Mr. Johrilal Mital, M.A., LL.B.		30-9-42	
	(3) OFFICIALS OF THE CHIEFSHIP.			
1. Judicial Officer	1. Mr. V.B. Dingankar, B.A.	1-10-36	6-12-36	
	2. Mr. Dariyaosingh	31-12-36	31-3-38	
	3. Mr. K.N. Sharma, B.A., LL.B.	1-4-38	30-9-42	
2. Head Accountant	1. Th. Amarsingh	1-10-36	30-9-42	
3. Revenue Officer	1. Mr. G.B. Bhatt	1-10-36	30-12-36	
	2. " Dariaosingh	31-12-36	31-12-37	
	3. M. Mukhlal	1-1-38	30-9-42	
4. Customs & Excise Officer	1. Mr. G.B. Bhatt	1-10-36	30-4-38	
	2. Mr. Sunderlal Vyas	1-5-38	18-12-38	
	3. M. Mushtaq Husain	19-12-38	30-9-42	
5. Forest Officer	1. Mr. G.B. Bhatt	1-10-36	30-9-37	
	2. Mr. Shivram Baxi	1-10-37	2-2-38	
	3. M. Mukhlal	3-2-38	30-9-42	
6. Medical Officer	1. Dr. B.P. Chowdhry	1-10-36	23-11-36	
	2. " B.L. Sharma	24-11-36	23-7-42	
	3. " C.B. Mathur	24-7-42	30-9-42	
7. Superintendent of Police.	1. P. Ramchandra Nagar	1-10-36	11-12-36	
	2. M. Agha Mohammad	12-12-36	11-10-37	
	3. Sardar Sahib Santokh Singh	12-10-37	30-9-42	

APPENDIX II

List of laws in force in the Kushalgarh Chiefship.

Acts of the Central Legislature applied to the Kushalgarh Chiefship in 1941-1942.	Modifications and restrictions.
1. The Judicial Officer's Protection Act, 1850, (XVIII of 1850) ...	
2. The Indian Penal Code, 1860, (XLV of 1860).	
3. The Police Act 1861 (V of 1861).	
4. The Carriers Act, 1865 (III of 1865).	
5. The Court Fees Act, 1870 (VII of 1870).	
6. The Cattle Tresspass Act, 1871 (I of 1871).	
7. The Indian Evidence Act, 1872 (I of 1872).	
8. The Indian Contract Act, 1872 (IX of 1872).	
9. The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872, (XV of 1872).	
10. The Indian Oaths Act, 1873 (X of 1873).	
11. The Indian Majority Act, 1875 (IX of 1875).	
12. The Specific Relief Act, 1877 (I of 1877).	
13. The Opium Act, 1878 (I of 1878).	
14. The Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881 (XXVI of 1881).	
15. The Indian Trusts Act, 1882 (IV of 1882).	
16. The Transfer of Property Act, 1882 (IV of 1882).	
17. The Indian Easements Act, 1882 (XIII of 1882).	
18. The Suits Valuation Act, 1887 (VII of 1887).	
19. The Provincial Small Cause Courts Act, 1887 (IX of 1887).	In sub-section 2 of section 15 for the words "Five hunred" the word "Fifty" shall be substitut
20. The Guardians and Wards Act, 1890 (VIII of 1890).	
21. The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1890 (XI of 1890).	In section 10 after the word "animal" where it first occurs the words "other than cows, bullocks, pea-fowls, pigeons, monkeys and buffaloes" shall be inserted.
22. The Banker's Books Evidence Act, 1891 (XVIII of 1891).	
23. The Partition Act, 1893 (IV of 1893).	
24. The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (I of 1894).	
25. The Prisons Act, 1894 (IX of 1894).	
26. The Excise Act, 1896 (XII of 1896).	
27. The Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897 (III of 1897).	
28. The General Clauses Act, 1897 (X of 1897).	
29. The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1989 (V of 1898).	
30. The Indian Stamp Act, 1899 (II of 1899).	
31. The Prisoners Act, 1900 (III of 1900).	

32. The Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 (V of 1908).	
33. The Indian Limitation Act, 1908 (IX of 1908).	
34. The Indian Registration Act, 1908 (XVI of 1908).	
35. The Whipping Act, 1909 (IV of 1909).	Section 6 shall be omitted.
36. The Indian Lunacy Act, 1912 (IV of 1912).	
37. The Hindu Disposition of Property Act, 1916 (XV of 1916).	
38. The Transfer of Property Validating Act, 1917 (XXVI of 1917).	
39. The Usurious Loans Act, 1918 (X of 1918).	
40. The Poisons Act, 1919 (XII of 1919).	
41. The Provincial Insolvency Act, 1920 (V of 1920).	
42. The Indian (Specified Instruments) Stamp Act, 1924 (XIII of 1924).	
43. The Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act, 1925 (XII of 1925).	
44. The Indian Succession Act, 1925 (XXXIX of 1925).	
45. The Contempt of Courts Act, 1926 (XII of 1926).	
46. The Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act 1925 (XII of 1928).	
47. The Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act, 1929 (II of 1929).	
48. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (XIX of 1929).	
49. The Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930 (II of 1930).	
50. The Indian Sale of Goods Act, 1930 (III of 1930).	
51. The Hindu Gains of Learning Act, 1930 (XXX of 1930).	
52. The Indian Partnership Act, 1932 (IX of 1932).	
53. The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1938 (VII of 1938).	
54. The Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939).	In section 3 omit the words "after previous publication".
55. The Defence of India Act, 1939 (XXXV of 1939).	

OTHER ACTS AND RULES IN FORCE IN BRITISH INDIA.

1. Rules for the grant of copies to suitors and other persons in the Courts and offices in Ajmer-Merwara.

KUSHALGARH ACTS AND RULES.

1. Mahuwa Flowers Act.
2. Forest Rules, 1915.
3. Customs Rules, 1936.
4. Opium Rules, 1922.
5. Border Court Rules.

6. Colonel Wyllie's Extradition Rules.
7. Shikar Rules, 1919 and 1929.
8. Court of Wards Rules, 1918.
9. Patwar Rules.
10. Rules for Tarwis.
11. Rules for cultivation of New Lands.
12. Rules for Tenants of Kushalgarh.
13. Kanungo and Girdawar Rules.
14. Arms Act, 1941.
15. Treasure Trove Rules.
16. The Kushalgarh Chawkidari Act, 1942.

[signature]

Manager, Kushalgarh.

Appendix VII

Statement showing Criminal and Civil work of the High Court Kushalgarh from 1936-37 to 1941-42.

		Criminal appeals.	Criminal revision.	Civil appeals	Civil revision
1936-37	Pending I-10-36	-	-	6	-
	Instituted. ..	-	-	-	-
	Total	[illegible]	-	6	-
	Disposed of.	-	-	-	-
	Balance.	-	-	6	-
1937-38	Pending I-10-37.	-	-	6	-
	Instituted	-	-	-	-
	Disposed of	-	-	-	-
	Balance.	-	-	6	-
1938-39	Pending, I-10-38.	-	-	6	[illegible]
	Instituted.	-	-	-	-
	Disposed of	-	-	-	-
	Balance.	-	-	6	-
1939-40	Pending I-10-39.	-	-	6	-
	Instituted	-	-	2	-
	Disposed of	-	-	2	-
	Balance.	-	-	6	-
1940-41	Pending I-10-40	-	-	6	-
	Instituted	3	3	3	4
	Total.	3	3	9	4
	Disposed of	3	3	9	4
	Balance.	-	-	-	-
41-42	Pending I-1041.	-	-	-	-
	Instituted	4	-	-	5
	Total.	4	-	-	5
	Disposed of	-	-	-	2
	Balance.	4	-	-	3

Note;- On taking over the Administration 125 Criminal and Civil appeals were found lying undisposed of by the late Rao. These were decided by the Resident in Mewar and Political Agent Southern Rajputana States during 1936-37.

T. Missa (signature)

Manager, Kushalgarh.

Appendix VIII

5b

Statement showing Civil and Criminal work of the Additional Sessions Judge and District Judge Kushalgarh from I936-37 to I94I-42.

		Sessions cases.	Criminal appeals.	Civil appeals.	Civil cases original.	Misc: appeals
	Pending on I-IO-36. ...	2	-	II	-	-
	Instituted...	I	2	9	-	4
I936-37	Total. ...	3	2	20	-	4
	Disposed of..	-	-	6	-	4
	Balance. ...	3	2	I4	-	-
	Pending. ...	3	2	I4	-	-
	Instituted...	4	-	IO	-	I
I937-38	Total ...	7	2	24	-	I
	Disposed of .	2	-	I7	-	-
	Balance ...	5	2	7	-	I
	Pending ...	5	2	7	-	I
	Instituted...	2	I	I6	-	9
I938-39	Total ...	7	3	23	-	IO
	Disposed of..	I	-	9	-	7
	Balance ...	6	3	I4	-	3
	Pending ...	6	3	I4	-	3
	Instituted...	3	3	I7	I	3
I939-40	Total ...	9	6	3I	I	6
	Disposed of..	4	3	8	-	5
	Balance ...	5	3	23	I	I
	Pending. ...	5	3	23	I	I
	Instituted...	6	I2	I9	-	3
I940-4I	Total ...	II	I5	42	I	4
	Disposed of..	4	5	I3	-	I
	Balance ..	7	IO	29	I	3
	Pending ...	7	IO	29	I	3
	Instituted...	2	3	30	-	2
I94I-42	Total ...	9	I3	59	I	3
	Disposed of..	7	4	I3	-	-
	Balance. ...	2	9	46	I *^	3

*^ In appeal in the High Court on a preliminary point.

T. Musa

Manager, Kushalgarh.

Class Statement showing Civil & Criminal work of the Civil Judge & Mgte: Kushalgarh from 1936-37 to 1941-42.

		Civil. cases	Civil execution. cases	Criminal cases.
	Pending on 1-10-36.	42	54	10
	Instituted ...	80	100	121
1936-37	Total. ...	122	154	131
	Disposed of ...	115	85	124
	Balance ...	7	69	7
	Pending ...	7	69	7
	Instituted ...	174	110	117
1937-38	Total ...	181	179	124
	Disposed of ...	166	114	111
	Balance ...	15	65	13
	Pending ...	15	65	13
	Instituted ...	217	175	77
1938-39	Total ...	232	240	90
	Disposed of ...	218	194	73
	Balance ...	14	46	17
	Pending ...	14	46	17
	Instituted ...	196	254	51
1939-40	Total ...	210	300	68
	Disposed of ...	202	240	63
	Balance ...	8	60	5
	Pending ...	8	60	5
	Instituted ...	117	193	122
1940-41	Total ...	125	253	127
	Disposed of ...	115	207	112
	Balance ...	10	46	15
	Pending ...	10	46	15
	Instituted ...	132	83	94
1941-42	Total ...	142	129	109
	Disposed of ...	134	85	95
	Balance ...	8	44	14

Musa

Menager; Kushalgarh.

Appendix X

Statement showing the Civil & Criminal work of the Magistrates II & III class & Munsifs of Kushalgarh, from I936-37 to I94I-42.

		Magistrate II Class and Munsiff.		Magistrate III class and Munsiff	
		Criminal cases.	Civil cases.	Criminal cases.	Civil cases.
I936-37	Pending on I-I0-36. ...	-	-	-	-
	Instituted...	-	-	-	-
	Total ...	-	-	-	-
	Disposed of..	-	-	-	-
	Balance. ...	-	-	-	-
I937-38	pending. ...	-	-	-	-
	Instituted...	-	-	7	27
	Total. ...	-	-	7	27
	Disposed of ..	-	-	7	I9
	Balance. ...	-	-	-	8
I938-39	Pending. ...	-	-	-	8
	Instituted...	2	4	I5	34
	Total. ...	2	4	I5	42
	Disposed of .	2	3	I4	39
	Balance. ...	-	I	I	3
I939-40	pending. ...	-	I	I	3
	Instituted...	I0	I	I2	23
	Total. ...	I0	2	I3	26
	Disposed of..	I0	2	I3	23
	Balance. ...	-	-	-	3
I940-4I	pending. ...	-	-	-	3
	Instituted...	I9	3	4	I2
	Total. ...	I9	3	4	I5
	Disposed of..	I9	-	4	9
	Balance. ...	-	3	-	6
I84I-42	Pending ...	-	3	-	6
	Instituted...	I7	3	7	35
	Total ...	I7	6	7	4I
	Disposed of .	I7	5	7	34
	Balance. ..	-	I	-	7

Truscott (signature)

Manager, Kushalgarh.

APPENDIX

…tatement showing the number of Persons confined …

During the years …

…ons	years	Number of Persons and Lock-ups.	Number of Prisoners				Daily averag…	
			Remaining from last year	Admitted during the year	Total			
					Past year	Present year	Past year	Present year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
…el Jail Lalgarh	1936-37	150	21	150	21	150	21·0	32·
"	1937-38	72	44	72	44	72	32·8	25·
"	1938-39	97	23	97	23	97	25·6	25·
"	1939-40	103	29	103	29	103	25·8	29
"	1940-41	80	29	80	29	80	29·10	28
"	1941-42	113	24	113	24	113	28·0	21·

XIV

[illegible]

[illegible] -37 to [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	[illegible]	-	
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	
[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	
[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	-	-	
[illegible]	-	-	-	-	.11	-	
[illegible]	-	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX [illegible]

Statement as to Price of Staple Food Grains, in k

Articles	1936-37 June 1937	1936-37 September 1937	1937-38 June 1938	1937-38 September 1938	1938-39 June 1939	1938-39 Septer 193
	@ Re 1/- per seer		@ Re. 1/- per seer.		@ Re 1/- per s	
	Srs ch.	Srs ch	Srs chts	Srs ch	Srs ch	Srs
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Wheat kallia	12-0	12-0	11-8	11-8	12-0	11-
Wheat wajya	12-0	12-0	12-0	12-0	14-8	12-
Maize	10-8	10-0	12-0	20-0	19-0	21-
Gram	16-0	14-0	16-0	16-0	13-0	12-
Wheat flour	6-0	6-0	8-0	8-0	9-8	9-
Maize flour	7-4	6-8	10-0	15-0	14-0	14-
Ghee	1-2	1-4	1-2	1-4	1-8	1-
Rice Superior	6-0					
Rice [illegible]	[illegible]					

APPENDIX XVI

Statement of expenditure on the Public Works in the Kushalgarh Chiefship during the years 1936-37 to 1941-42.

Description of works.	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-
	Rs	Rs	RS	Rs	Rs	Rs
I. Ordinary repairs.	2,532	1,266	1,450	1,350	1,543	700
NEW WORKS						
I. Guest House including cost of furniture, crockery etc; ...	-	4,500	400	-	-	-
2. Patan Thana ...	-	4,300	-	-	-	-
3. Kushalgarh-Bamnia road. ...	-	12,000	1,500	-	-	1,649
4. Kushalgarh-Jhalod road, repairs of breached rapat, new rapats and culverts and bridge repairs near Dungra.	-	2,200	6,721	5,356	8,321	8;500
5. Sub-Inspectors qr: at Kushalgarh.	-	-	800	-	-	-
6. P.W.D. Office.	-	-	1,200	-	-	-
7. Patan tank, raising of bund etc.	-	-	-	1,200	250	800
8. Inpatients wards with cook houses and latrines.	-	-	-	4,650	399	-
9. Customs Naka at Kotribagaicha.	-	-	-	950	-	-
10. Sadria tank, ~~xxxx~~ raising of bund etc. ...	-	-	-	-	600	1,500
Total.	2,532	24,266	12,071	12,906	11,113	13,149

APPENDIX XVIII

Agricultural Stock in the Kushalgarh Chiefship during the

...ct	Years	Horses and Cattle: Bullocks Adults	Bullocks Calves	Cows Adults	Cows Calves	Buffaloes Male Adults	Buffaloes Male Calves	Buffaloes Female Adults	Buffaloes Female Calves	Horses	Mares	Colt and fillies	Asses	Sheep and goats	Plo... with two Bullocks
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
...lgarh	1936-37	7386	2977	6649	3071	22	490	2443	1161	164	172	37	326	2666	3956
	1937-38	5753	1701	3986	1912	14	303	2020	804	137	135	46	291	2392	2703
	1938-39	6746	1726	4394	1861	11	544	2206	1007	141	151	25	307	3367	3842
	1939-40	Figures of cattle census carried out during the year are g...													
	1940-41	8450	3105	6445	3081	34	713	2573	1160	129	131	24	498	5360	4316
	1941-42	8382	3035	6117	2842	34	707	2593	1257	133	137	35	432	4905	4248
		Figures of Cattle Census of 1939-...													
Area		8258	4070	6655	4077	55	800	2516	1341	108	115	43	496	8594	3906
(2) Maufi ...eas		5110	2822	4297	2844	24	523	1398	846	52	58	49	216	5692	2409
	Total	13368	6892	10952	6921	79	1323	3914	2187	160	173	92	712	14286	6315

APPENDIX XVIII

Statement showing the Excise revenue in the Kushalgarh Chiefship during the years 1936-37 to 1941-42.

Year	Country spirit.	Opium.	Ganja.	Bhang.	Total.
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1936-37	8,054	8,941	144	271	17,410
1937-38	13,199	5,399	158	316	19,072
1938-39	14.321	4265	335	298	19,269
1939-40	32,049	4,834	541	329	37,753
1940-41	29,453	6,829	570	271	37,123
1941-42	45,534	11,415	612	344	57,905

Manager, Kushalgarh.

Heads of receipts.	Before the Administration 1934-35	1936-1937.	1937-1938.	1938-1939.	1939-1940.	1940-1941.	1941-1942.
Opening balance.	27084	9540	43658	14818	6730	16796	15606
Land Revenue.	43874	6962	51697	41241	42555	47982	47171
Customs.	16837	9331	13950	19968	20372	29167	22378
Law & Justice.	4368	1979	4058	4120	4455	3318	3130
Education.	-	21	25	25	21	21	21
Interest.	1000	1000	-	500	806	216	191
Excise.	18220	17409	19068	19254	37753	37122	57905
Municipality.	5340	1809	2350	3342	4193	4744	3596
Forests.	8386	6317	15218	24839	13954	9392	8731
Police.	-	822	1300	1115	705	1841	702
Miscellaneous.	1945	5960	4891	2483	7505	13995	3776
Adjustments.	-	-	-	-	11302	-	-
DEPOSITS.	-	-	-	-	4406	243	6551
Refund of advances;	478	1483	5298	12190	3770	3096	20170
Loan (recovery)	-	-	550	948	4738	833	2282
Loan from Mewar and Bank deposits, for famine etc.	-	160000*	6	-	-	-	-
Total.	100516	212993	118385	130025	156535	151970	178604
Grand total with opening balance.	127600	222533	162043	144843	163265	168766	194210

* Includes loan of Rs.1,50,000 from Mewar.

EXPENDITURE.

Establishment, Law & Justice & Revenue.	16732	16608	19750	19241	18783	18075	19218
Jail.	999	2214	2708	2369	2706	2815	2797
Police.	10056	7043	9572	9976	10018	9274	9384
Political charges.	1168	1167	1168	1108	1168	1170	1170
Guests.	4319	489	885	2620	721	819	460
School.	3329	3022	3011	4441	4418	4123	4522
Land Record.	1379	2126	2265	2418	2951	3219	2405
P.W.D.	12758	2532	24266	12071	12906	11113	14085
Kharagi.	20327	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		

APPENDIX XXII.

APPENDIX

Statement of Medical Relief afforded in the Kus

HOSPITAL.

...rs	Number of Patients treated: Out-door	Indoor	Results of Indoor Patients: Discharged	Absented	Died	Remaining under treatme...
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-37	47665	53	5	–	2	–
7-38	50456	42	5	–	–	–
8-39	39387	26	6	–	1	–
39-40	41994	39	5	–	–	–
40-41	44303	49	27	–	–	–
41-42	41987	68	15	8	2	–

Village dispensaries

36-37	–	–	–	–	–	–
37-38	6925			–	–	–
38-39	6241	–	–	–	–	–
39-40	7586	–	–	–	–	–
40-41	5873	–	–	–	–	–
41-42	3661	–	–	–	–	–

APPENDIX XXII.

Statement showing the Income of Import and Export Duties xxxxxxx in the Kushalgarh Chiefship during the years 1936-37 to 1941-42.

Head.	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	Remarks
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
Export Duty	6,007	3,416	12,325	11,367	20,772	15,351	
Import Duty	2,887	4,072	4,666	5,798	6,508	5,535	
Total	8,894	12,487	16,991	17,165	27,280	20,386	

Manager, Kushalgarh.